



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



US 13.5.4

Found

2 2 1906



**Harvard College Library**

FROM THE BEQUEST OF

**JOHN AMORY LOWELL,**

(Class of 1815).

This fund is \$20,000, and of its income three quarters  
shall be spent for books and one quarter  
be added to the principal.









**THE  
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY**

**WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES**

---

**VOL. II**

**JUNE—DECEMBER, 1905**

---

**WILLIAM ABBATT  
281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK  
1905**



15396-4

~~15396-4~~

U. S. 13.54

# INDEX VOL. II.

JULY-DECEMBER, 1905

	PAGE		PAGE
American History, Footlights of.....	199	First United States Flag.....	291
American History, Miscellanea of.....	346	First Dutch Church, Schenectady.....	173
American Independence, Ode to.....	30	First Woman in the Post-Office Department...	276
Andre Country, In the.....	75	Fleming, W. L., article by.....	34
Andre Prison (Illustration).....	151	Folsom, A. A., communication from.....	285
Army of the Potomac—A Page of History		Froeligh, Reverend Solomon, and His Great	
Corrected .....	127, 171, 249	Schism .....	330
Arpe, R. N., articles by.....	127, 171, 249	Fulton, Robert, Reminiscences of.....	326
Baltimore's Old Stepping-Stones.....	282		
Barry, Commodore John, Relics of.....	386	GENEALOGICAL:	
Benedict, N. R., article by.....	417	Adams .....	71
Bolton, Reginald Pelham, article by.....	223, 311	Allen .....	292
Boogher, W. F., article by.....	407	Bartlett .....	70
Book Notices.....	223, 433	Burt .....	221
Bridgham, Eliza W., journal of.....	14, 90	Chamberlain .....	71, 151, 292
British Navy in the Revolution.....	223, 311	Cushman .....	220
Buffalo, Lone .....	356	Elliot .....	151
Burr and Hamilton.....	70	Emmons .....	71
Bushnell's <i>Turtle</i> .....	389	Estabrook .....	71, 72
		French .....	151, 220
Calhoun, J. B., article by.....	326	Gridley .....	71, 293
Catlin, Louise E., article by.....	346	Hale .....	152
Civil War Sketches.....	34	Hardin .....	152
		Hasey .....	151
Dakota Militia (poem).....	116	Horne .....	71
De Costa, Rev. B. F., article by.....	265	How .....	71
Diamond Island, The Fight at.....	265	Howard .....	292
Diary of a Poet's Mother.....	206	Huggins .....	71
Duncan, Capt. James, Diary of, at Yorktown.	407	Ingalls .....	151
Duryee, Rev. J. R., article by.....	330	Lamb .....	220
		McNey .....	151
Early Days in Luzerne County, Pa.....	239	Parker, J. ....	71
Editor, articles by.....	75, 352	Parrott .....	72, 293
Errata .....	281	Pease .....	71
Evangeline and Gabriel, Where Buried.....	403	Perkins .....	71, 151
		Perry .....	292
Fancies at Navesink (poem).....	264	Poole .....	220
Fate of the Pigeons.....	353	Pottle .....	151
		Rand .....	151

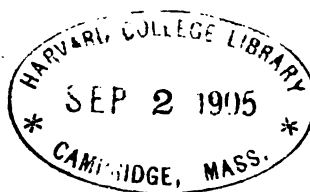
# INDEX

437

	PAGE		PAGE
<b>GENEALOGICAL—Continued.</b>		<b>Landais, Captain Pierre..... 181</b>	
Roberts .....	151	Lanman, Charles, articles by....210, 273, 356, 424	
Snow .....	292	Last Century, A Port of the..... 417	
Thayer .....	220	Leather Stocking, Grave of..... 283	
Turner .....	71	Liberty of the Press.....55, 118, 160, 228, 315, 379	
Webb .....	152	Lincoln, Abraham, speech of..... 362	
Wood .....	70	Luzerne County, Pa., Early Days in..... 239	
Wright .....	292		
		<b>LETTERS:</b>	
Griffis, Rev. W. E., articles by.....295, 365		British Officer .....	144
Guernsey, R. S., article by..... 44		John Dickinson .....	290
Gloucester, Linzee's Attack on..... 85		Capt. Jas. Duncan..... 67	
Graham, Alex. S., article by..... 394		William Lloyd Garrison..... 150	
Grave of Leather Stocking..... 283		Capt. John Gooch..... 216	
Great Dismal Swamp, A Day in the..... 339		Col. Henry Glen..... 287	
Green, Samuel A., article by..... 185		Andrew Jackson .....	68
Greenwood, Isaac J., article by..... 181		Major James McHenry..... 362	
Groton, The Old Town of..... 185		Edmund Munro .....	360
		John Sellon .....	359
Hall, Edward H., article by..... 202		Gen. John Pope..... 217	
Hammond, Otis G., article by..... 48		Jonathan Trumbull, Jr..... 429	
Hanson, Joseph M., poem by..... 116		Washington .....66, 146, 215, 289, 364, 427, 429	
Hand-Loom Weaving Revived..... 271		Martha Washington .....	364
<b>HISTORICAL SOCIETIES:</b>			
Montgomery Co., N. Y..... 221		Maine, Henry C., article by..... 206	
New York .....	221	Martin, I. J., article by..... 403	
N. Y. State Hist. Ass'n..... 69		Matthews, Amanda, article by..... 206	
New Jersey..... 432		Memorial Trees .....	281
Hogg, Ebenezer, vs. John Paul Jones..... 48		<b>MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS:</b>	
		André Prison, efforts to preserve..... 151	
Indiana County Names..... 420		Burr and Hamilton..... 70	
<b>INDIAN LEGENDS:</b>		Fate of the Pigeons..... 353	
The Dancing Ghosts..... 424		First Dutch Church, Schenectady..... 173	
The Lone Buffalo..... 356		N. Y. Liquor License, 1739..... 432	
The Maiden of the Moon..... 273		Thomaston Ter-Centenary..... 150	
The Maiden of the Moon..... 273		Ward Election in New York, 1739..... 431	
The Shooting Meteors..... 210		Mississippi River, Progress of Discovery of.... 1	
<b>ILLUSTRATIONS:</b>		Miscellanea of American History..... 346	
André Prison, Tappan.....August		McHenry, James, letter of..... 362	
Gen. Clinton's Dam, Cooperstown.....November		McPike, Eugene F., article by..... 346	
Landais, Capt. Pierre, portrait of.....September		Munro, Edmund, letters of.....359, 360	
Odell, Rev. Jonathan, portrait of.....July			
Journey through New England and New York		Navesink, Fancies at (poem)..... 264	
in 1818 .....	14, 90	New England, Journey through, in 1818....14, 90	
Jones, John Paul.....48, 285		Northern Neck of Virginia..... 259	
		<b>NOTES AND QUERIES:</b>	
		Replies, Revolutionary Flags..... 219	

	PAGE		PAGE
Odell, Rev. Jonathan.....	28	Somes, John J., article by.....	85
Portrait of .....	July	Sullivan's Great March in the Indian Country.....	295,
Old Town of Groton, The.....	185	365	
Origin of Name of Washington.....	202	Schuyler, Rev. L. R., articles by.....	55, 118, 160, 228, 379
Original Documents...66, 67, 68, 144, 146, 150, 215,		Stepping-Stones, Baltimore's Old.....	282
216, 217, 287, 289, 290, 359, 360, 362, 364,		Stone, William L., article by.....	284
427, 429.			
Parker, Mrs. Jane Marah, article by.....	153	Thomaston, Me., Ter-Centenary of.....	150
Pigeons, Fate of the.....	363	Turtle, Bushnell's .....	389
POEMS:			
Dakota Militia .....	116	Unknown Exile, was he Charles X?.....	96
Fancies at Navesink.....	264	"Unknown Exile," not Charles X.....	153
Ode to American Independence.....	30	Upham, Warren, article by.....	1
Poet's Mother, Dairy of a.....	417		
Port of the Last Century.....	417	Vancil, Frank M., article by.....	199
Post Office Department, First Woman in the..	276	Vallandigham, E. N., article by.....	259
Potomac, Army of the.....127, 171, 249			
Press, Liberty of the.....55, 118, 160, 228, 315		Washington Name, Origin of the.....	202
		Washington, Letters of—See Original Documents	
Ryman, Wm. P., article by.....	239	Weaving, Handloom, Revived.....	278
		Wendover and the Flag.....	44
Saratoga, Battle of.....	284	White, Anthony Walton.....	394
Sellon, John .....	359	Whitman, Walt., poem by.....	264
Siege of Yorktown, Capt. Duncan's Diary of			
the .....	407	Yorktown, Capt. Duncan's Diary at Siege of..	407

**VOL. II**



**No. 1**

**THE**  
**MAGAZINE OF HISTORY**

**WITH**  
**NOTES AND QUERIES**

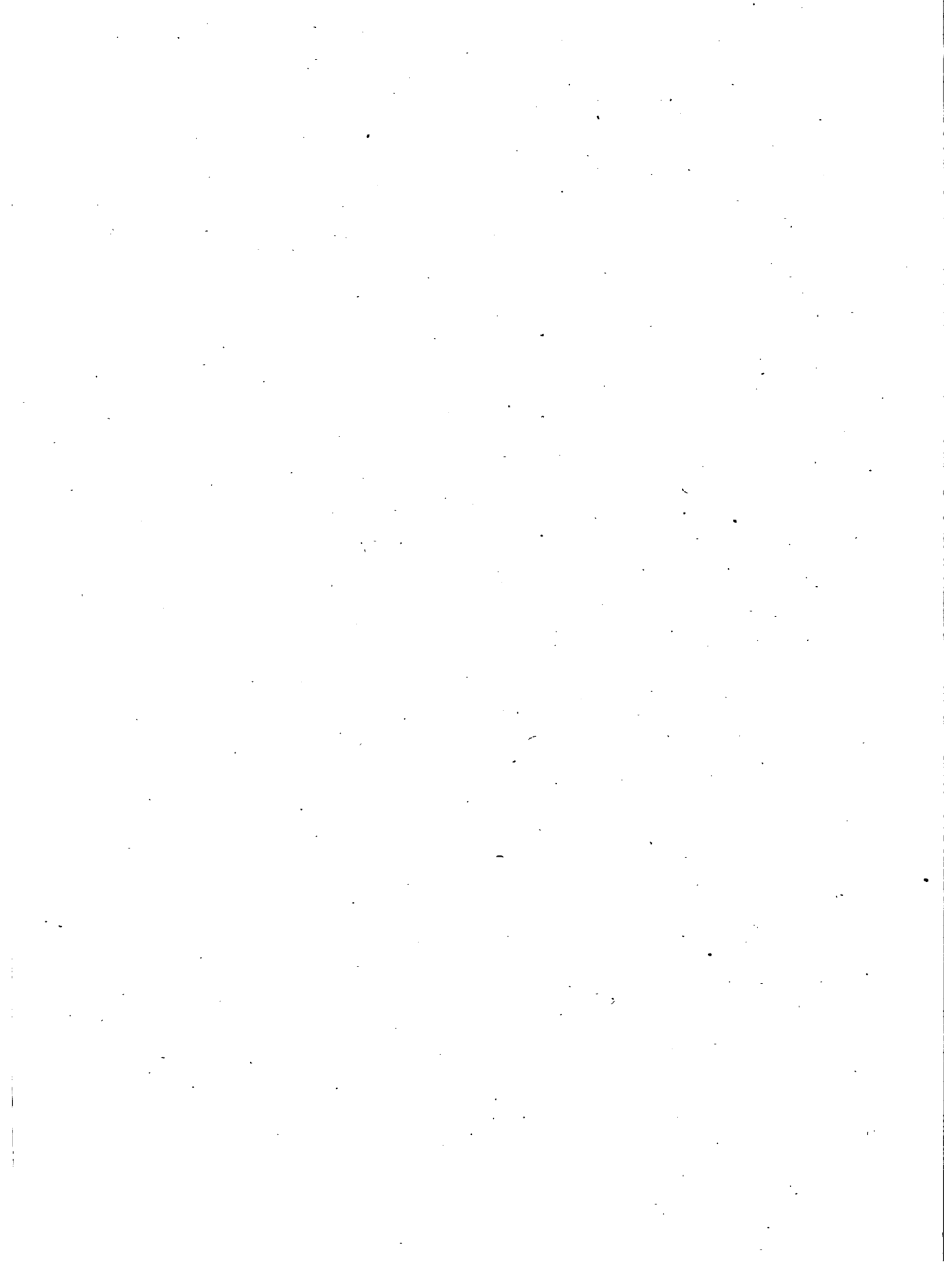
**JULY 1905**

**WILLIAM ABBATT**  
**281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**Published Monthly**

**\$5.00 a Year**

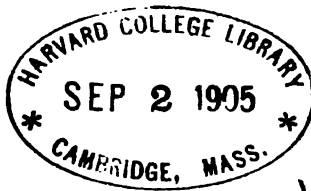
**50 Cents a Number**







*John W. Odell*



# THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

---

VOL. II

JULY, 1905

No. 1

---

## THE PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

### IV

GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, JOLIET AND MARQUETTE, DU LUTH,  
HENNEPIN, AND LE SUEUR

**I**N the latter half of the seventeenth century, French explorers, fore-runners of the fur trade, and with them the missionaries of the Cross, came from the great lakes of the St. Lawrence to the upper part of the Mississippi. Jean Nicollet, in 1634-35, had extended his explorations to the Falls of St. Mary, at the mouth of Lake Superior, and to the Fox River, above Green Bay. At the western limit of his travel in Wisconsin he learned of a great water, beyond the Fox River, which he supposed to be an ocean. It was the Mississippi (Great River). Previously, through nearly a hundred years, the rude maps that resulted from De Soto's expedition had been accepted as evidence that the area draining to the Gulf of Mexico had no great northward extent.

First to reach the upper Mississippi were Groseilliers and Radisson, coming, if I have rightly identified their route and time, in 1655, from Green Bay and Lake Winnebago to Prairie Island, on the west side of the main channel of the great river above Lake Pepin, in the area that is now Minnesota, and returning thence to Lower Canada in 1656. Another expedition, by way of Lake Superior, to a higher part of this river, was made by these brothers-in-law in 1659-60.

The manuscript narratives of Radisson, describing their expeditions, which he called "voyages," appear to have been written in 1665, with a slight addition three years later, their purpose being to promote the interests of these two adventurers when first seeking alliance with the English for establishing trade with Hudson's Bay. Their writer took



especial care to show the great prospective commercial advantages of opening the fur trade with new regions at the north, and of gaining possession by colonies in the vast fertile country of Lake Michigan and the upper Mississippi region. The papers relating the journeys of Groseilliers and Radisson to the upper Laurentian lakes and the upper Mississippi River, came into the possession of the Bodleian Library, at Oxford University; and other manuscripts, relating their service later for the Hudson's Bay Company, were purchased by the British Museum.

In these, the largest two libraries of England, the quaint narratives of Radisson rested in quiet until twenty years ago they were published by the Prince Society of Boston, which is devoted to the preservation and publication of rare original documents relating to early American history. The title-page reads as follows: "Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from original manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With Historical Illustrations and an Introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England. Boston: Published by the Prince Society, 1885." It is a small quarto book of 385 pages, and the edition was limited to two hundred and fifty copies.

As Radisson wrote in English, a language less familiar to him than his native French, his narration is often very uncouth; but it abounds with homely, apt and forcible expressions, such as could only have been acquired by living with English-speaking people, certainly not merely from school studies or books. It is probable that he had learned this language as a sailor boy on English vessels, before going to Canada; but later, by his life in New England and in the service of Boston merchants during the years from 1661 to 1664, he had doubtless added greatly to his acquaintance with the vernacular.

Radisson's writings are exceedingly deficient in dates, sometimes negligent as to the sequence of events, and even here and there discordant and demonstrably untruthful. Therefore much discussion has arisen concerning their significance and historical value. In many parts of the narration where we should wish quite complete statements, such are given very briefly or omitted entirely. Other parts, on the contrary, have a fullness of garrulous detail which brings to view very vividly the many adventures, hardships and dangers encountered among the savages, with frequent descriptions of their manner of life in the wigwam, in their rude agriculture, in the hunt, on the war path, and in councils of public

deliberation. The details are everywhere consistent with the now well known characteristics of these Indian tribes, and they thus afford decisive testimony that the narrator had actual experience by living long among them.

The two western expeditions to the upper Mississippi are paralleled by the *Jesuit Relations*, which were yearly reports of the progress of missionary work, including also many incidental references to other Canadian history. Another contemporary record, the *Journal of the Jesuits* for the year 1660, contains a very interesting detailed account of the return of these travelers and traders from their second trip west, accompanied by three hundred Indians, and bringing a rich freight of furs. The *Relations* for 1660 mention two Frenchmen returning at this time, with similar details of their expedition, as the return of two Frenchmen was also noted by the *Relations* for 1656; but in both instances they refrain from giving the names of these daring and successful explorers. In the *Journal* we are informed that Groseilliers was one of the two returning from the second of these expeditions.

Henry Colin Campbell, of Wisconsin, who has very carefully studied the chronology of this subject, writes: "Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it would not be easy to find three distinct accounts of one expedition into a strange country that tallied more closely than do the accounts of that voyage to Lake Superior which we find in the *Jesuit Relations*, the *Journal of the Jesuits*, and Radisson's *Journal*. The return of Radisson and Groseilliers from their second trip, the one to Lake Superior, in August, 1660, is thus fully proven."

The duration of the first expedition west, in which Radisson claims to have traveled far southward, to a latitude where "it never snows nor freezes, but is mighty hot," he asserts to have been three years; but the *Jesuit Relations* state distinctly that the expedition which returned in 1656 had occupied only two years. In this discrepancy we must certainly rely on the *Relations* as truthful. When the fictitious year, as it may be called, is eliminated from this expedition, taking away the pretended journey to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, the remaining narration of Radisson for the two years actually spent in the region of Lake Michigan and on Prairie Island seems entirely trustworthy, bearing many and indubitable evidences of its truth.

Comparing this narration with the *Jesuit Relations*, Campbell well summarizes the general agreement as follows: "Our two Frenchmen,

like the nameless Frenchmen of 1654-1656, visited the Pottawatamies and the Maskoutens, the latter in the interior of Wisconsin. Radisson and Groseilliers, like the two nameless Frenchmen, were delayed in returning the first spring by the Indians. Their return, likewise, caused great joy in the colony, and salvos of artillery were also fired in their honor from the battlements of Quebec. We have already observed that the whereabouts of Radisson and Groseilliers from 1654 to 1656 can be accounted for in no other way than by making them identical with the two nameless Frenchmen, and moreover Radisson and Groseilliers, if they were the two nameless Frenchmen, would have had a year in which to rest, after their return, as Radisson says they did."

Voyaging from Lower Canada in birch canoes with a small company of Hurons and Ottawas, Groseilliers and Radisson came to Lake Huron by the usual route of the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing. Their Indian escort then divided, and a part went with the French travelers southward around Georgian Bay and Lake Huron to Bois Blanc Island and the Strait of Mackinac. The first autumn and winter were spent in visiting from tribe to tribe in the region of Mackinac and Green Bay. "I liked noe country," says Radisson, "as I have that wherein we wintered; ffor whatever a man could desire was to be had in great plenty; viz. staggs, fishes in abundance, & all sort of meat, corne enough."

Attentively perusing the narrative, I am impressed with the lack of details of journeys and experiences during the time between the first and second winters of Radisson's three years. He seems to have fabricated the story of that year, drawing his general descriptions of the southern half of Lake Michigan and the vast region beyond from what he could learn in conversation with the red men. He understood the Algonquin languages, and these people and their southern neighbors had occasional intercourse and travel from tribe to tribe, so that among the aboriginal ornaments and amulets in Minnesota and Manitoba were sea shells from the Gulf of Mexico. The implied voyage of Groseilliers and Radisson far down the Mississippi may therefore be rejected.

When we come to the account of the next year, following the apparent fiction vaguely and blunderingly told, Radisson resumes his accustomed definiteness of details, telling us that in the early spring, before the snow and ice were gone, which forbade the use of canoes, these Frenchmen, with about a hundred and fifty men and women of the native tribes traveled almost fifty leagues on snowshoes, coming to a riverside

where they spent three weeks in making boats. This journey was, if I rightly identify it, from the vicinity of Green Bay, in eastern Wisconsin, across that state to the Mississippi, reaching this river near the southeast corner of Minnesota or somewhat farther south, perhaps coming by a route not far from the canoe route of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Thence they voyaged eight days up the river on which their boats had been made, to villages of two tribes, probably in the vicinity of Winona, where they obtained meal and corn, which supplied this large company until they "came to the first landing isle."

The description indicates that the voyageurs passed along Lake Pepin and upward to the large Isle Pelée (or Bald Island), now called Prairie Island, on the Minnesota side of the main river channel between the present cities of Red Wing and Hastings. On this island, which derived its name, both in French and English, from its being mostly a prairie, a large number of Hurons and Ottawas, fleeing from their enemies, the Iroquois, had recently taken refuge, and had begun the cultivation of corn. Their harvest the preceding year, on newly worked land, was small; but much corn would be needed for food during the long journey thence to Quebec with beaver skins, which canoe voyage, requiring a month or more, Groseilliers and Radisson wished to begin soon after their arrival at the island. They were obliged to remain till the next year, and Groseilliers spent the summer on Prairie Island and in its vicinity, one of his chief objects being to provide a large supply of corn for the return journey. Meanwhile Radisson went with hunting parties, and traveled "four months . . . without doing anything but go from river to river." He was enamored of the beauty and fertility of the country, and was astonished at its herds of buffaloes and antelopes, flocks of pelicans, and the shovel-nosed sturgeon, all of which he particularly described. Such was the first year, 1655, of observations and exploration by white men in Minnesota, and their earliest navigation of the upper part of the Mississippi River. Accompanied by several hundred Hurons and other Algonquins, and carrying a most welcome freight of furs, Groseilliers and Radisson returned to Montreal and Quebec in August, 1656. Their stay at Prairie Island covered the period from April or May, 1655, to June, 1656, about fourteen months.

My identification, as thus stated, of Radisson's "first landing isle," according with a suggestion of Campbell, differs widely from the view taken by the late Captain Russell Blakeley in his paper presented to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1896, published in Volume VIII of its

*Collections.* He thought that island to be probably in Lake Saganaga, on the northern boundary of Minnesota. Therefore it becomes needful to give here quite explicitly the six chief reasons for my assertion in favor of Prairie Island. These may be received as conclusive, while yet indulging much leniency toward other views, because even the Indian geographic names, and also the direction of journeys, as northward, or southward, are generally wanting in the crude account of these earliest explorations in a previously unknown region.

First, the geographic features and distances of the route from Green Bay or Lake Winnebago to the Mississippi, and up this river to Prairie Island, seem to me to harmonize with Radisson's narration; but, on the contrary, the route by Lake Superior and northward to Saganaga Lake differs greatly from what is narrated of the snowshoe and canoe journeys.

Second, many of the Hurons and Ottawas, escaping from their foes, the fierce Iroquois, are known, by other and contemporaneous historical testimony, to have fled to the Mississippi and settled at Prairie Island about this time; and the narration shows that the Indians who are said to have come newly there, were Huron refugees. These Indians never penetrated to the far northern and cold country beyond Lake Superior.

Third, the cool climate and predominantly rocky land of our northern boundary from Lake Superior to the mouth of Rainy Lake, with the altitude of Saganaga Lake, 1,434 feet above the sea, and the small size and very rocky surface of its many islands, make corn-raising there, on a large scale, quite impossible; whereas the extensive Prairie Island, 670 to 735 feet above the sea, and situated three and a half degrees farther south, with an easily cultivated and very productive alluvial soil, is by nature most admirably adapted for the primitive agriculture of the aborigines and for their most valuable crop, Indian corn.

Fourth, Radisson distinctly says that in starting toward the great river and its "first landing isle," they bade farewell to the Indians of the Sault Ste. Marie and of the North.

Fifth, he also states that in the region of that island beavers were not so plentiful as "in the north part," showing clearly that they were then farther south than during the preceding winter, which they had spent about the northern end of Lake Michigan.

Sixth, the journey of return from that island was first to the south and then to the north. This description applies to the canoe voyage from

Prairie Island southward down the Mississippi, and then northward up the Wisconsin river and down the Fox River to Green Bay. It could not describe any route of return from Lake Saganaga.

No other locality on or near the northern border of Minnesota can satisfy the requirements of the narration; nor can any other island in the Mississippi, or in any river of this region, meet these requirements so satisfactorily as Prairie Island, which is the largest in all the course of the Mississippi. The identification seems to me to stand in the clearest light, without a shadow of reason for distrust.

Isle Pelée, as Prairie Island was called by the French, is ten and a half miles long, and has an average width of about two miles, with a maximum of two and three-fourths miles. Its area is about twenty square miles, and its highest part is forty to sixty-five feet above the low water stage of the inclosing rivers. This large island lies between the Mississippi and a western tributary, the Vermillion River, which flow respectively along its northeast and southwest sides, each measuring more than ten miles. At its northwest or upstream end, the island is bounded by Truedell slough, which supplies, even at the lowest stage of water, a connection between the Mississippi and the Vermillion, usually carrying a current from the former to the latter; but during floods in the smaller river, when it is the higher, the direction of the current in the slough is reversed. In the highest floods from exceptional rains or from the snow melting in the spring, the Mississippi rises sixteen to eighteen feet above its lowest stage; and then it sends off a large part of its waters along the course of the Vermillion, to reunite with the broader flood of the main river south of the island, which is reduced at such times to a length of about seven miles with a maximum width of only about one.

As I first traversed this historic island in early May of 1901, at nearly the exact season of the arrival of these Frenchmen two and a half centuries ago, my thoughts went back to that springtime, and I endeavored to picture their coming with a hundred and fifty Indians to join those who a year or two before had come there, attracted by the fitness of the land for corn-raising. The island was then a great prairie as now, and its sedentary Indian population may have usually exceeded its present number of white inhabitants, perhaps a hundred and fifty, with their twenty-five or thirty farmhouses, two schoolhouses, and a church. Instead of the neighboring railways and villages of civilization, all the Mississippi basin from Lake Itasca to the Gulf was uninhabited by white men. But it had many Indian villages, many cultivated fields

yielding abundantly, and unlimited supplies of fish and game. The native tribes had not yet obtained the firearms before which the buffaloes, elk, and deer, and most of the wild fowl, have fallen and vanished away. Their traffic with Europeans was begun by these two daring explorers and traders.

Groseilliers at this date was thirty-four years old, and was well experienced in the hazardous life of a pioneer Indian trader, prudent, persevering, and successful. His comrade was scarcely twenty years old, full of courage, resourceful, fond of wild adventure, and eager to see new regions. If we compare their enterprise to a boat or ship, Groseilliers was like the ballast to keep the craft right side up, while Radisson was like the sail to give speed and distance.

After returning from the west in August, 1656, Groseilliers and Radisson took a period of rest. This was succeeded by Radisson's expedition with others, Indians and French, to the Onondaga country, which he places as his "second voyage." From this absence he returned about the end of March, 1658. Afterward, in the latter part of the summer of this year or of the next year, 1659, the two brothers-in-law, and a party of returning Indians, again started for the farthest west, with a stock of merchandise suited for barter in their fur trading.

The narrative by Radisson very explicitly relates their travels and experiences for two years, which would require their departure to have been in 1658; for the date of their return, known with certainty from several concurring records, was in August, 1660. But the *Relations* and *Journal* of the Jesuits both indicate that this expedition occupied only a year. Scrutinizing the narrative, with this discrepancy in mind, I am fully, though reluctantly, persuaded that here again Radisson was guilty in his writing, as for the preceding western expedition, of fictitiously adding a year, this being from the first spring to the second in his narration, comprising the visit to Hudson Bay. It is therefore to be understood that the beginning of this expedition was in August, 1659, soon after a "company of the Sault" (Ojibways), arrived at Three Rivers.

The ensuing winter and early spring were spent by Groseilliers and Radisson with the Huron, Menominee, Sioux, and Cree Indians, in north-western Wisconsin and the adjoining part of Minnesota. After a ceremonious feast and council, near Knife Lake, Minnesota, southeast of Mille Lacs, including mutual bestowal of gifts for establishing friendly relations between the Indians and the French for prospective fur trading, and for insuring peace between the Indian tribes, these two explorers

went, according to Radisson's narration, by seven days' travel, to visit the Tintonwan or Prairie Sioux at their homes.

Their numerous bands occupied an extensive prairie region, from eastern Iowa northwesterly through southern Minnesota to Lakes Big Stone and Traverse and the broad, very flat, valley plain of the Red River of the North. It seems most probable that the French traders and their Indian escort went by the way of the Rum, Mississippi, and Minnesota Rivers, passing the site of Minneapolis. Starting from the vicinity of Knife Lake, as I think, very early in April, they spent six weeks in the visit, including in that time, we may suppose, the week of going and two weeks or longer of returning thence to Lake Superior.

Whether they went to the prairie country by canoes or afoot, the route seems to me to have been almost certainly along or near the courses of the Rum River and the Minnesota River. By traveling twenty-five or thirty miles daily, they would come in a week to the neighborhood of Swan Lake and the site of New Ulm, in the same country where a hundred and seven years later Captain Jonathan Carver wintered, in 1766-67, with these prairie tribes. But if it be thought that "small journeys" could be no more than fifteen or twenty miles daily, the locality where they came to the camp of the roving and buffalo-hunting Sioux would be perhaps at the Shakopee prairie on the lower part of the Minnesota River, or perhaps even very near to Fort Snelling, or on the site of either of the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

On the return to Lake Superior, Groseilliers and Radisson accompanied a party of Ojibways who had been trafficking with these Sioux, probably buying furs, under the advice of the French traders, for their trip back to Lower Canada the next summer. The route of the return, doubtless by canoes, was apparently that most used by the Ojibways, passing down the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, by the sites of Fort Snelling, St. Paul, and Hastings, to the St. Croix, up that river to its headwaters, and thence by many laborious portages, and through small lakes and streams, to Chequamegon Bay.

A different route of the visit to the Sioux on their prairies was suggested by the late Hon. J. V. Brower and Mr. Alfred J. Hill, in the *Minnesota Historical Society Collections* (Vol. VII, 1893, pp. 54-56), indicating that the Mississippi was crossed by Groseilliers and Radisson "some thirty or forty miles above the present site of St. Paul," that is, near the mouth of the Rum River or of the Crow River, passing thence up the Crow River to its sources and onward west to a large village of



these Sioux near Big Stone and Traverse Lakes. The distance to be thus traveled, if the Frenchmen went to those lakes, was greater than by the Minnesota River to New Ulm; but they may not have gone that entire distance, as a large encampment of the Prairie Sioux for winter hunting and trapping may have been found in the partly prairie, but mostly forest country of the Crow River. It seems to me very much more probable, however, that the route was southward, instead of westward, from the mouth of Rum River. The reasons for this opinion are, first, that the Minnesota River afforded the most convenient navigable communication with the great prairie region; and, second, that the Ojibways could come there for traffic, as noted by Radisson, without going so far from their own territory. Thirty-five years later, when Le Sueur built his trading post on Prairie Island, it was on the neutral ground between the Sioux and Ojibways, being therefore chosen as a favorable place for promoting peace between these tribes.

Not much of thanks or praise can be awarded to Groseilliers and Radisson for their being the earliest Europeans on the upper Mississippi River; for they failed to discern the important geographic significance of the great river, and designedly concealed from their countrymen, so far as possible, all knowledge of their travels. If we may compare this inland region with the much grander discovery of the continent, the expeditions of these first pioneers seem somewhat like the unfruitful voyages of the old Northmen, reaching our northern shores but not understanding the value of their work, long before the purposeful first voyage of Columbus, which, though indeed with the belief that the islands found were merely outliers of Farther India, gave to civilization a new hemisphere. With similar intelligence and patriotism came Joliet and Marquette, to whom, second on the upper Mississippi, in 1673, belongs rightly, as I believe, the highest honor of its discovery, because they made known what they found. Let the glory of praise and gratitude, which during more than two hundred years has been accorded to them, continue with undiminished lustre in the minds of future generations. Likewise let the names of Hennepin and his companions, and of Le Sueur, be held in lasting honor for their being the first of white men to make known their explorations of this river in Minnesota.

Between the part of the Mississippi navigated by the Spaniards in 1543, southward from the Arkansas River, and the part first seen by Groseilliers and Radisson in the spring of 1655, a section extending through nine degrees of latitude remained to be first surveyed by white men in the summer of 1673, when the canoes of Louis Joliet, a young,

but skilled explorer, delegated by Frontenac to this enterprise, and the Christian hero, Father Jacques Marquette, passed down the great river from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, and returned, partly by the same route, and along the Illinois River, to Lake Michigan. The most southern Indian villages reached by Joliet and Marquette were Mitchigamea, on the west side of the Mississippi, not far above the White and Arkansas Rivers, and Akansea, on the east side, nearly opposite to these large tributaries. As remarked by B. F. French, the former village was perhaps on the site of Aminoya, whence Moscoso descended the Mississippi; and the latter near Guachoya, where De Soto died, but on the opposite shore of the river. With Marquette's exceedingly interesting narrative of this voyage, we have his map, a pen sketch, giving the course of the Mississippi so far as it was seen by him, and marking its chief affluents, the Des Moines, Missouri, and Arkansas, on the west, and the Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio, on the east.

The voyagers turned back at Akansea, through fear of Spaniards or the Indian tribes beyond. They had gone far enough to prove the Mississippi a tributary of the Gulf of Mexico; to discover its vast prairies as a most fertile country, abounding with buffalo herds; and to learn of many aboriginal tribes, among whom these pioneers went as friends, opening the way for founding trading posts and Christian missions. Through their narratives and maps, it soon became known to their countrymen that the Mississippi basin was an unclaimed empire, well worthy of every effort to secure it for France.

The whole country of the Mississippi, from the Gulf to the Thousand Lakes forming its sources, was christened Louisiana, for the French monarch, and claimed for his sovereignty, by Robert Cavelier, commonly known under a title referring to his land estate, as the *Sieur de la Salle*, who, on the great southern prairies, commanded a small company of zealous explorers; and by Daniel Greysolon Du Luth, who ranged through the great northern woods, with a few Frenchmen and Indian helpers to perform the labor of canoeing and camping.

Under instructions from La Salle, at his Fort Crèvecoeur on the Illinois River, a canoe exploration of the Mississippi upward from that river was undertaken in the early spring of 1680 by a little party of three Frenchmen, including the Franciscan priest, Father Louis Hennepin. On their way, probably near the Iowa River, they were met and taken into captivity by a war party of a hundred and twenty Sioux, in thirty-three birch canoes. Returning to their homes, the Sioux took their

prisoners up the Mississippi to the site of St. Paul, and thence overland to the vicinity of Mille Lacs. After nearly two months of captivity there, the Frenchmen, with a very large expedition of these Indians for hunting buffaloes, came by the usual canoe route down the Rum River and the Mississippi; and on one of the early days of July these Frenchmen gazed with admiration on the Falls of St. Anthony, which were so named by Hennepin for his patron saint. About three weeks were spent in the buffalo hunting, and on the return up the Mississippi, probably near the site of La Crosse, Hennepin and the Sioux were met by Du Luth, who with an Indian interpreter and four French soldiers, in two canoes, had come from Lake Superior by the Bois Brulé and St. Croix Rivers.

Du Luth had visited the Sioux in the Mille Lacs country during the preceding year, very probably coming by the way of the St. Louis and Savannah Rivers to Sandy Lake and the Mississippi, with descent of this river to the Crow Wing. He now boldly reprimanded the Indians for their treatment of Hennepin and his two French comrades, which produced a marked change in the demeanor of the savages. They all returned together to the Mille Lacs villages, where Du Luth, in an Indian council, further exerted his influence as a French fur trader to require due respect for any French visitors coming to the Sioux country. In the autumn, Du Luth and Hennepin, with the other Frenchmen, left the Sioux, from whose chief they received a rudely traced map for four hundred leagues of their canoe route down the Mississippi, up the Wisconsin, and down the Fox River, to Green Bay and Mackinac.

By these travels the upper part of the Mississippi, then called the River Colbert, became known to the French of Canada. Three years later, Hennepin's publication, in Paris, of his "Description of Louisiana, Newly Discovered Southwest of New France," spread the knowledge of the discovery of the upper Mississippi through all Europe. His map in that book delineates the course of this river from its source to the Illinois and a little farther south, noting the Rum River, the St. Croix, Chippewa, Black, Wisconsin, and Illinois Rivers, as its eastern tributaries, but having no indication of the Ohio; and on the west its only tributary noted is the Minnesota. From the south limit of Hennepin's observation of the Mississippi a lightly dotted line, marking its probable southward course, runs to the middle of the north side of the Gulf of Mexico. The Spanish maps of rivers seen by De Soto were not utilized to fill in the country at the south, across which the name of this new region, La Louisiane, is printed.

It remains for us to consider only one other of the ancient French explorers of the Mississippi, who also was the first explorer known to history on the Minnesota River. Pierre Charles Le Sueur, born in Canada in 1657, came to the Mississippi by the way of the Wisconsin River in 1683. The remaining years of the century, excepting expeditions for the sale of furs in Montreal and absence on voyages to France, he spent principally in the country of the Sioux. He was at Fort St. Antoine, on the east shore of Lake Pepin, with Perrot, in 1689. At some time within a few years preceding or following that date, he made a canoe trip far up the Mississippi, this being the first recorded exploration of the river through the central part of Minnesota. Le Sueur related (*Margry Papers*, Vol. VI, pp. 171, 172), that he ascended the river more than a hundred leagues above the Falls of St. Anthony, which statement, according to Brower, places the northern limit of his exploration in the vicinity of Sandy Lake.

Very probably Charleville, whose narration of a similar early expedition of a hundred leagues on this part of the Mississippi is preserved by Du Pratz, was a companion of Le Sueur, so that the two accounts refer to the same canoe trip. Charleville said that he was accompanied by two Canadian Frenchmen and two Indians; and it is remarkable that Charleville, like Le Sueur, was a relative of the brothers Iberville and Bienville, who afterward were governors of Louisiana. At the limit of the canoe voyage up the Mississippi, in the case of both Le Sueur and Charleville, according to their separate narrations, the Indians informed them that its sources were still far distant, consisting of many streams.

Thus the progress of discovery of the Mississippi by white men, at successive times during two centuries, from its mouths to Sandy Lake, was completed. More than a hundred years later, in 1804 to 1832, its upper waters and principal source were explored by Morrison, Pike, Cass, Beltrami, and Schoolcraft. It was from first to last a grand task, and it was chiefly accomplished by the French, opening to civilization the most fertile regions of our continent. Of these brave men and their achievement, John Fiske well wrote: "The exploration of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, with the determination of their relations to each other, was the most important inland work that was done in the course of American discovery."

WARREN UPHAM.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

(Conclusion)

## A JOURNEY THROUGH NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK IN 1818

[Communicated through Mr. C. S. Brigham, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society.]

Eliza Williams Bridgham, the writer of the following journal, was the daughter of Samuel Willard and Elizabeth (Paine) Bridgham, and was born in Providence, September 13, 1799. She was therefore in the 20th year of her age when she made the tour with her father. In 1827, she was married to William Samuel Patten, the son of Rev. William Patten of Newport. She died April 14, 1882, in her 83d year. Her father, who accompanied her on the journey, was a man of much prominence in Rhode Island. He was graduated from Brown University in 1794, and was a trustee and also chancellor of the college for a long period. He was attorney-general of the State from 1814 to 1818, and was chosen the first mayor of Providence in 1832, serving until 1840. He died in 1840 in the 66th year of his age.

The "Journal" is written in a very clear and beautiful hand, and forms an interesting commentary upon the towns and localities through which Miss Bridgham and her father passed. George William Curtis, who was related to the Bridgham family, was always desirous of publishing it, but died before he brought it about. It is now published through the courtesy of Miss Elizabeth Bridgham Dexter of Providence, who has recently deposited the original manuscript with the Rhode Island Historical Society.—C. S. B.

*To Her Royal Highness  
the  
Lady Abigail of Providence  
this Journal  
Is most respectfully dedicated,  
By her affectionate Sister,  
ELIZA*

WORCESTER July 16th, 1818.

As it was your wish, dear Abby, that this famous journal should be dedicated to you, I have thus complied with it & anticipate with pleasure many a hearty laugh over it on my return. We arrived here

safe about seven in the evening & on leaving Providence passed through North Providence, Smithfield to Uxbridge, about 23 miles, where we stopped to dine. Here I met a daughter of Mr. Kingman's, who came up with the Miss 'Burgess' to attend the same school. I was so very much fatigued I sent for the girls to come and see me, which they accordingly did & we spent an hour or two quite pleasantly. Uxbridge is a tolerably pleasant place, consisting of one meeting house, two academies, and a small number of dwelling houses. From here, we passed through Northbridge (a small village) the corners of Sutton, Grafton & Millbury to Worcester, which is 19 miles from Uxbridge & 42 from Providence; as we approached Worcester the country became very hilly, but father thinks it nothing in comparison to what we shall find. As you enter this place, the view is not very good & the hills being so numerous, reminds you more of a dish of apple dumplings than any thing else. But we shall view the town in the morning. Adieu.

July 17th.—We walked out this morning and found this place much pleasanter than I expected. It has two churches for Congregationalists, & one for Baptists—and a very handsome Court house. There are many very handsome houses & those situated on the hill are really delightful. We were delighted on visiting the collection of Antiquities. Mr. Thomas, the President of the Society and father's particular friend accompanied us. The greatest curiosities in the Literary department, I thought, was a Bible printed 14 years after the art of printing was invented, at Venice; the Bible Archbishop Cranmer formerly owned, and the first newspaper and first book ever printed in America. The newspaper was done at Cambridge in 1704, and the book in 1740 [*sic*]. It was a book of psalms and was really diverting to see how curiously it was spelt and punctuated. We also viewed some ruins of the ancient Herculaneum and Pompeia, and a piece of a Wine Jug formerly belonging to Cicero—with a great variety of other ancient things, such as an Indian God, the chair Pres. Richard Mathews first sat in; old spoons, bottles &c belonging to the Indians. We dined with Mr. Thomas and were joined by his nephew, Mr. Andrews, quite an agreeable young man. We left Worcester about four in the afternoon, and rode to West Boylston—thence to Sterling. From Boylston to the latter place, is a most delightful ride and had I any talent at description, might interest you very much. However, we descended a high hill, into a large and charming valley which wound round the high hills for a long distance, the road was excel-

lent, was entirely enclosed by the largest and most beautiful elms I ever saw. In the middle of this delightful grove, ran a fine river whose banks were covered with a variety of shrubbery. In this romantic little spot, every thing was perfectly still, excepting the chirping of birds and the murmuring of a distant waterfall. I don't know, when I was so much delighted. We passed to Sterling 13 miles from Worcester, where we are safely moored for the night.

Saturday, July 18th.—We commenced our ride this morning at half past five—and went to Leominster 7 miles to breakfast. This is a tolerable village. After breakfast we left it and arrived in Fitchburg about 11 o'clock, the distance from Leominster 6 miles. It is a pretty large village—has only one church, but several handsome dwelling houses; after dining, we called upon Mrs. Willard—who appeared delighted in seeing us; we walked out, and found Fitchburg to be a very thriving town & great place for business: it is situated in a vale, surrounded entirely by beautiful woods, there are many chestnut trees & being in full bloom, give it a pleasant appearance. This place has five cotton factories, two slitting mills, two paper mills & a nail manufactory; from which you may judge it to be rather noisy. After walking, backgammon and music occupied our evening; adieu.

Sunday, July 19th.—It rained so hard this morning, I could not attend church, but by the goodness of W. S. P. in lending me the "Queen's Wake," I spent the forenoon pleasantly. Afternoon went to church—where I heard a very fine organ, miserably played upon. To-morrow, if the weather allows, we shall leave this place, for Keene. We have been four days from home & not yet met with either a curious or romantic adventure!!

Monday, July 20th.—We commenced our ride, from Fitchburg this morning at 6 o'clock, and passed on to Ashburnham eight miles. These eight miles were one continued succession of up hill and down. They did not gradually ascend & descend, but were very steep. To be at the foot of one, and look up, it would almost appear to reach the heavens; from Ashburnham, which is a mean, unpleasant little village, we rode on to Winchendon, eight miles farther; this is a decent village, the road more level, the country excellent; from Winchendon, we passed on, to Fitz-William 9 miles, where we stopped for dinner. This place, you may justly conclude, from its name, is a pleasant one; it is situated on very high land, & the fields and land around, so very green & fertile,

presents an agreeable view of vegetation. In this place stands one of the neatest churches I ever saw, it is quite new, the one formerly standing in that place was entirely destroyed by lightning. The houses belonging to the parson, the doctor, the lawyer, and the merchant, were fine situations. We left Fitz-Williams, & rode on, to the pretty little village of Troy five miles; from this place, to Keene, is the most romantic road you can possibly conceive, & would give you the finest idea of awful grandeur of any-thing you ever saw. From Troy we began to descend, & continued so, for four miles!! Father thinks our descent could not have been less than several hundred feet. On our left, we were almost under what is called "the high hills of New Hampshire," on our right, we had a fine river, which was filled with rocks sufficient to form many waterfalls, and to give a superior idea of chaos. On the banks of this river grew the highest trees you can conceive of, & immediately above it, rose the great & Grand Monadnock Mountain, so that, we were entirely encompassed by mountains; the trees, which were the highest by far that I ever saw, almost met each other at the top, & appeared to touch the very heavens. This road, which was winding, and descending so much, that we could scarce divest ourselves of the idea that we were entering a lower world, was rendered still more sublimely grand & terrific, by a violent shower of rain, which did not cease until after we arrived at Keene. "Taking this road all in all," it surpassed any thing I could even imagine. After passing Swansey, we entered Keene, where we are, in tolerable quarters for the night. Adieu.

Tuesday 21st.—Last evening soon after we arrived in Keene, it commenced raining violently, & continued so during the night. We have heard of many bridges being carried away, so that it must have extended some distance;—Keene, being a place of much note, I expected something quite superior; it is, however, large enough to support eleven lawyers! it has but one church and a courthouse to comprise their public buildings; there are many handsome seats and a fine street, about a mile and a half in length, and from six to eight rods wide. It is noted for being a very dissipated place. The morning being unpleasant, we did not leave it until after nine, when we rode on, to Surry 6 miles; at this place, we were told, the turnpike was impassable & that we must cross "the Surry Mountain." We accordingly undertook it, & a great undertaking indeed it was, imagine yourself ascending the steepest mountain you ever saw about two miles, continually rising, we really seemed almost to touch the heavens; we at last descended, to the great joy of both man



& horses. After passing through Allstead, where we found large ditches and holes in the road entirely impassable, owing to the storm, we arrived at Bellows Falls. Before I tell you about these falls, I must describe to you what a shocking time we met with to-day; we were riding down a steep hill, & turning abruptly, we found the road was entirely washed away by the rain; I jumped out of the chaise and held the horse by his head, while papa was obliged to break down limbs of trees, sufficient to form a bridge entirely across the road; only think, what an undertaking; we got along safely, however, & were much delighted with the Falls, which are twelve miles from Surry; these falls are on the Connecticut river, & form one of the finest views in the world. They are eighty feet in height, and rush with all possible impetuosity over the rocks; here is a fine bridge, supported by braces, which is very different from any I ever saw before; there are also seven locks, to transport boats laden with merchandise up & down this river; the boats are generally seventy feet in length, and take but an hour & a quarter to pass up, or down the river; at this place, though small, are several handsome houses & a church, a perfect imitation of the Episcopal, only upon a smaller scale. We crossed the river into Rockingham, Vermont, & then back again, through Walpole, four miles; this is a charming place; it is not very large, it is true, but it is delightfully situated on the Connecticut river, has a handsome meeting house, & many beautiful seats, some of the houses being uncommonly handsome. Papa pointed to one & asked a man, who it belonged to. He answered, "Squire Bellows;" papa pointed to another, he said "Squire Bellows' son," & on asking about another he answered "oh! that's the Young Bellows." Finding the town to be chiefly composed of these things, we were fearful of a "blow out," so concluded to cross over into Westminster, two miles farther; from Walpole to Westminster the road is entirely level, for a wonder, and is carried through the interval between the White hills of New Hampshire & the Green Mountains of Vermont; Westminster is a pretty village, situated on quite high ground, as you ascend considerably before you reach the compact part. Though I am pretty sleepy, tonight, I must tell you a little circumstance which entirely escaped my memory until now; when we called for breakfast at Leominster, when it was ready papa was standing at the front door. The landlady came to me & said, "Can you tell me, Madam, which way I shall go to call your husband?" Indeed I told her, I could not, but my father was at the door. She began a dozen apologies, without succeeding in one;—don't

you think I must look very old, with my veil? or that father's beautiful duck pantaloons give him a youthful appearance?—Adieu for this night.

Wednesday July 22d.—Without saying anything good of our accommodations last night, we will leave Westminster Hotel without any remark. We rode to Putney nine miles to breakfast, & nine long miles, indeed, they were, for the roads were rendered doubly tedious by the late storm. Putney is a very pleasant little village, having a stream of water, with some pretty little falls, running through the centre. Here we remained some time, & then rode on, through Dummerton to Brattleboro 10 miles. This road is still hilly & this morning we passed some nearly perpendicular. Father walks up & down all these great hills, & leaves me to drive. Don't you think I have wonderful courage to do it? I actually tremble like a leaf, when I look down one of them, & always think of what you would have done if you had been in my place. I advise you now to correct yourself of being quite as timid as you are. Brattleboro is the seat of fashion round this way; it is quite pleasant; two churches and an academy comprise its public buildings, there are half a dozen of the "top-knots" of the place that have handsome houses, it is on the stage road from Albany to Boston, which gives the place considerable note; I wish you could see one of the stages in this part of the country. They really look curiously; they are built very large and strong, & on the back and sides they have motto's. On the one we have just passed is written or rather printed in large Roman letters, "Wide Awake," on both sides and on the back: you have no idea what a curious effect it has. Oh! I was quite amused to find that some of our beaux' favorite expressions had reached even to Vermont & New Hampshire. In Fitz-William I was surprised to hear a man tell a young lad, "to clear out!" & in Fitchburg a boy was fearful a horse was going "to clear out;" it really sounded quite like home. We left Brattleboro for Guilford in the afternoon, and arrived there soon after, as it is six miles; where we found our relations, all well & as Philip declared, "right glad to see us." We retired very early as we were pretty tired; so ends these twenty-four hours. Adieu.

Thursday 23d.—In the afternoon, we were invited to take tea out, I did not accept; father did & said they had quite a stylish party; Cousin Philip, who says he is determined I shall get a spark, if possible, brought another gentleman, by the name of Kingsbury, he spent the evening with us, which passed away tolerably.

Friday July 24th.—Today it was concluded that we should ride down to Green river, about three miles from here, to spend the day with Cousin Edward; I rode with Philip as father carried Aunt C: this place exceeds all for loneliness; it is entirely surrounded by woods & high hills, & appears literally to be a hut in the middle of a forest; we had a pleasant ride home, as the sun had set & our ride was mostly through woods. We shall probably leave this place for Bennington & the springs, next Monday. I have been much amused by the different expressions I have heard since I came here; they have an addition to the famous "clear out," when they wish a person to leave the room, they say, "come, cut your cable, & clear out!" They abound in phrases of this sort, which makes it quite amusing: good night; I am so sleepy, I can scarcely keep my eyes open. Adieu.

Saturday 25th.—This morning reading & working amused us till dinner. As soon as that was over, we dressed for a party; it is the fashion here to visit about two o'clock, & generally return at dark; this afternoon, we went to Cousin Willard's, where (as they say here) we had "quite a sleek time." I must now tell you something about Guilford. It is not a pleasant village, there are two pretty houses in it, the others are very old; one church, without any minister, & one good looking lawyer's office, these comprise Guilford. Adieu, for the night.

Sunday 26th.—As this was the last day we should probably spend in Guilford, Aunt C. sent for all her children & grandchildren to see us; & we had noise & confusion enough among the younger part, to turn one's head. I was rejoiced when it came night, for it was a tedious day indeed: no meeting to attend. Oh! I recollect there was a kind of an assemblage in a hut, where the young men of the village attend, merely for sport! The minister, who is a wandering Methodist, preached last Sunday, for a bushel of oats, & the Sabbath previous, for two dinners he had eaten a long time before!! What a shocking state of society is this! I never was more struck with the necessity & utility of public worship. People here make their calculations, to avail themselves of the sabbath for all kinds of "jobs." After reading over what I wrote you last night, I was quite astonished to find I had described only one parish of Guilford. This town is large, tho' not thickly settled; there are several parishes in it, each one containing a meeting house, some with & others without a minister & the dwellings of the Lawyer, the Doctor, & the merchant. It is six miles square, & as hilly & mountainous as you

can suppose. This evening, "Squire" Tim Phelps spent with us; he is one of the dashing beaux of the place, & one of those kind of personages, who after studying the Latin Grammar, perhaps half through, would endeavour to make you think he is complete master of the language. He is so consequential & presuming, that it would really provoke you, to be with him. The other beau is tolerably quiet & peaceable, & likely knows enough to live on the mountains. I wish you were here, if it is only to see the difference of manners & deportment in these people, from what we have been used to—not that we are very refined, in my estimation, but that they are most unfortunately rough; but it is very late, adieu, for tonight.

Monday July 27th.—Oh! such a ride, dear Abby, as we have had, your imagination cannot conceive; we have this day crossed the large & celebrated Green Mountain! We left Guilford at quite an early hour, & Philip bade adieu to his "royal & illustrious relations," as he terms us!! We rode through Halifax, to Marlboro' eight miles & a half, where we called some time, to refresh us. The latter is a pleasant little village, which we rambled about to see & then rode  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles farther, & arrived at the foot of the mountain, in the town of Wilmington. Here we dined, then commenced our fatiguing route. It is seventeen miles across, & as I can give you no idea of the ascent or descent I will not attempt it; we then passed into Readsborough, Woodford, & then into Bennington, 3 miles, from the latter place, where we have most excellent quarters for the night. On this tedious road we have met no one, nor have we been favoured with any remarkable adventures! Adieu.

Tuesday July 28th.—I have been very much disappointed in Bennington. As it was formerly the seat of government, & a place of much note, I expected to find it handsomely situated & well built. But it is quite the reverse. There are two churches in it, that are decent, a tolerable academy, & not one handsome house! They are built low & old fashioned, & from its appearance, I should judge there had not been one erected, or much repaired, for many years. About six miles from here, is where the battle was fought—& about seven miles farther, we viewed the place where Gen. Burgoyne surrendered; if I recollect right, it was in 1781 [*sic*]; it may possibly be the year following, but I think not. We left Bennington and passed through Shaftesbury, & White Creek, which is in the state of New York, to Cambridge 14 miles. The public house at this place goes by the name of the "Chequered Inn"

for many miles, it being painted entirely in large squares of deep red & white. You don't know what a curious effect it has; from Cambridge we rode to Union Village eleven miles; here we called for dinner, & found this quite a little City; it is certainly far surpassing Bennington for pleasantness of situation; we did not leave here until five in the afternoon, & then rode on as far as the Hudson river, which we were obliged to cross in a ferry-boat. It was not very wide at this place, but sufficiently so, to cause a little fear in me. I cannot conceive of the pleasure that is derived from sailing parties, merely passing this ferry actually made me sick. We then rode about eight miles farther, & intended to have gone to Saratoga Springs tonight, but we were so very much fatigued, we were glad to find a resting place four miles from there, so we have concluded to rise earlier & arrive there at breakfast time. Good night. You don't know how much I long to see you all.

Wednesday 29th., Saratoga Springs.—We arrived here safely this morning, dear sister, & have found in one house quite a little world. Much do I wish you & a few other choice spirits were here, then I should enjoy it; this house, which is called "Congress Hall," accommodates 150, at this present time. It is 197 feet in length & three stories in height, & is kept by S. P. Schoonhoven, a Dutchman, don't you think it quite an establishment? Among the great number here, I have seen but one that I knew, & that was Mr. William Richmond. He has been very kind & attentive to us. Oh! I have wished a dozen times that some man of talents & observation would spend the summer, & study characters—& then let me see the result; I am sure he could not have a better opportunity to view human nature. Here are rich & poor, old & young, sick & well, learned & illiterate, all in the same dwelling, some whose manners are superior, for refinement & elegance, others who are really clownish. If the Author of "Letters from the South" were here, he would have ample foundation for something amusing—the springs are finely described by *Salmagundi*—there are about one thousand persons in the place, almost every house is a boarding-house; you can see the people flocking to take the water at all times of the day. The first springs are called "the Ten Springs," & by some are thought the best. They are situated half a mile from the centre, at the extremity of the village; next comes the "President Spring," then the Rock Spring; they are very similar in their tastes, some are more highly charged than others: the Rock Spring is very curious; it boils constantly & springs up from a solid rock many feet. It is perfectly round through which the

water issues: many suppose this rock to have been formed entirely by the water, but that seems incredible. Next comes the "Congress spring" which is by far the most celebrated. The water of this, I think is pleasanter than the others it has more life & animation. It is really astonishing to see these springs boil so much, they are constantly in motion & now & then boil as hard as any water you ever saw. So much for the waters. As to the town, it is one of the most unpleasant you ever saw. It is all sand & surrounded entirely by pine woods, not one pleasant walk or ride round it. Old Seekonk now, is delightful to it. There is one church here, & the people are so very complaisant, as to leave all the body pews, for the reception of strangers, while they occupy the wall pews & gallery. This is one of the finest places, to see human nature, you can imagine. Here you see all sorts, from all parts. There are several gentlemen here, from Europe, & the West Indies, & four ladies from Spain. But, among so much style & fashion I am inclined to be homesick & hope Father will certainly leave here, tomorrow. I have seen all there is to be seen & so am anxious to turn my face homeward. I am more convinced than ever that "the sweetest spot delineated on the Map of Life is Home!" Adieu, for tonight.

Thursday 30th.—You would have been interested to have seen the great numbers of people, flocking to the Congress Spring this morning, they generally drink of that, before breakfast, the Columbian Spring before dinner, & the President or Rock Spring before tea.—We left Saratoga about nine, & as it is only seven miles, arrived at Ballston soon after. This is a pleasanter place on account of situation than Saratoga. The house, which is called "The Sans Souci Hotel," is large & commodious, being nearly 200 feet in length, & three stories in height; it is rather larger than "Congress Hall." There are 120 now at this house, & about 700 strangers in the village. The gentlemen amuse themselves by walking, riding, playing at Billiards, nine-pins, &c while the Ladies I suspect, must devote nearly all their time to dress, as they change it four times in course of the day. They have a Ball, at Ballston, every other evening, which makes it pleasant for all. The Ballston water, however, is not in as high repute as Saratoga. There has been discovered a new spring, within a few months, & many think that Ballston now will become the most celebrated. Here we met Mr. Ives, Mr. Burrill, & Mr. Dorr, also Johnny Brown. It was really reviving to see some of our own folks again. We dined, & remained in Ballston until five o'clock, when we left, and rode on through Malta, Stillwater, & Orange to

Waterford, about 24 miles; as we left Ballston so late we did not arrive until nine in the evening. Don't you think we journey with considerable rapidity? Father & myself do very well to travel together, for we wish to stay in one place, just long enough to see all there is to be seen & then we are glad to be "jogging on." We have rode so rapidly to-day I am quite tired so adieu.

Friday July 31st.—This morning, we concluded to ride up on the banks of the Mohawk river, about two miles, to view the Cohoes Falls. These are very beautiful, the fall of the water perpendicularly, is 60 feet. They are entirely different from any I have ever seen before, the rocks extend entirely across the river, & with the exception of one large projection, they are quite even, like a mill-dam. There is a bridge over the Mohawk, at this place, which is quite a curiosity. It is 900 feet in length & is entirely covered, resembling a rope walk, more than any-thing I know of. We then returned to Waterford which is on the west side of the Hudson & a very pleasant place, having two churches & many handsome dwelling houses. We then crossed the Hudson, by a large & elegant bridge 800 feet in length & supported by large stone piers. It has four very large arches, which at a little distance give it a fine appearance. From here, we rode to Lansingburgh, one mile. This is a pleasant place. Three miles beyond it, lays Troy, one of the most delightfully situated towns. As it is directly on the banks of the river, we have a view of all the scenery on the Hudson, which has justly been considered as very superior. Troy is about the size of Newport. It is a place of much more business; it has four churches, a court-house & gaol. From here, we were obliged to cross the Hudson, by a boat, as there are no bridges on it any farther down,—Oh! these ferries I do detest them! After landing on the west side again, we went through Washington, [now Water-vliet.—ED.] a village rather derogatory of its name. It has a church and one very elegant building viz. "the United States Arsenal." It is a very handsome establishment, being of white brick & stone. We next arrived at Albany, about one o'clock, being six miles from Troy, & ten from Waterford. Albany, which is on the west side of the Hudson, is a delightful place, about as large as Providence. The inhabitants are mostly of Dutch extraction; to walk a few rods and view the curious names on the signs, is really quite amusing. To give you a specimen, I will write what is directly in front of the window where I am now sitting, "Van Veghten & Talbert," "G. La Grange," "Gerrit Gates," "Conrada Teneyck," "T. Van Schaick," "Winschoof Gaineswoort,"—these are

all within my present sight; don't they about break your jaws in trying to pronounce them? It is really quite as disagreeable as the German. We have been walking this afternoon, and find this City to be really very beautiful; the Capitol, where the Legislature meet, is built of free stone, and white marble; the columns, window-stools & caps are entirely of solid marble. On the top of the cupola, is a white figure of marble also, representing Justice, with a sword in one hand, & a pair of scales in the other. It is situated on rising ground, fronting the street, which is perfectly straight, for some distance; this produces a fine effect. It has a very elegant Court-room in it; the Governor by law is obliged to reside in this City, therefore all the offices of the State are kept here, they are all in one handsome building erected in 1794 for the purpose, it is built of free stone. There are eight houses for public worship in this City; one Episcopalian Church in the Gothic order, one story in height; one Lutheran, of white marble, one Roman Catholic of brick, one Sicilian, also brick; three Presbyterian Churches, very handsome, & one Reformed Dutch Church; one elegant academy, of free stone, with a roof covered with slate, and a new gaol. There are also three Banks, one is entirely of marble, the Mechanics' & Manufacturers' Bank; the Union Bank is built of brick, the ends are of marble, over the door are two large Cornucopias, wrought very finely, the State Bank is of free stone; the private houses are very handsome, built mostly of brick; there are many of the old Dutch houses remaining, they are singularly favored, —generally of four stories, but the roof begins at the first, so that three stories of it are within the roof; it pitches very gradually; there are many of the finest brick stores I have ever seen, which adds greatly to the beauty of the street. As we were passing through, one of the lower streets of the City, I observed so fine a specimen of wit, I cannot forbear noticing it. A man kept a common kind of huxter's-shop, over the door was written on a large, white sign, "I, John P. Jones, Put this sign here, To let you know, I keep good beer, I have made my board, A little wider, To let you know, I keep good cider"; don't you think some one exercised his poetical talents very finely? There were several other signs, of the same kind, but I don't recollect any more, the Albanians must be courting the Muses, with a great deal of success. We left Albany, about six, in the evening, and the first thing we had to do, was to cross the ferry; it was in a horse-boat—& they are the most curious looking things you ever saw. They are perfectly round, with a high railing; in the centre is another department, perfectly round, which is covered like a house, inside



of this is the machinery, carried by eight horses, which go round and round, as they do in a distillery. On the top of this are seats for the passengers—which give them a very pleasant view of the Hudson. On the opposite side of the river is Greenbush, a famous place, you know, in time of the war. Here we saw the barracks, which accommodated twelve thousand of our soldiers at one time. There are eight separate buildings, each 230 feet in length, they are handsomely built & make a noble appearance. There is also a house for the officers, and a hospital. We then passed on, through Schodack, to Nassau, a little village, where we encamped for the night, eleven miles from Albany, at a very good house, kept by Peter C. Van Valkenburgh; adieu, adieu.

August 1st.—This morning before we left Nassau, we were agreeably surprised by being overtaken by Mr. Dorr, Mr. Burrill, Mr. Ives, & Mr. Brown, they have concluded to join us, & spend the Sabbath at Lebanon Springs. After leaving Nassau—we went directly into Lebanon-town, though not into the village, but we arrived at Lebanon Springs before dinner as it was but sixteen miles: these Springs are poor indeed, & after drinking of the Congress Water, it was impossible to do more than taste of these. But the situation is so delightful, a great many people visit here. There are, now, about sixty persons at this house:—it is situated on a high hill, & overlooks a delightful valley; in this vale are quite a number of houses, & a neat church. Through the centre flows a delightful stream, so that, the prospect is altogether romantic & pleasing: the gentlemen are constantly walking the piazza, & wishing the Congress Spring could be removed here, or this delightful spot could be transported there.—After dinner Mr. Dorr proposed our paying a visit to the “Shaking Quakers,” as there is a settlement of them about two miles from here, we were very happy in yielding to the proposition; their houses are all painted yellow, with red roofs, not a speck of dirt to be seen in their dominions, even the roads were exactly so: in their yards, were flat stones laid to pass from one house to another; you know every thing is common for all, in this society; there are six hundred of them, & they are divided into but five families. Each one has his share allotted to him to do: they are very ingenious & make all kinds of things, the females as well as the other sex. Some are weaving, making cheese, butter, &c others attend to sewing, & others have the care of the house; we viewed one establishment throughout, & you can form no idea of the neatness of every thing; even their floors have a kind of polish on them, exactly like varnish. Their kitchen department is in complete order.

They have two large marble sinks, & ovens, & boilers &c innumerable. The products of their industry is all invested in the hands of one old man, whom we were introduced to as Elder Baker, he is the chief head of the church; as they all dress exactly alike & live together, they all receive the same share of the "Treasury." We spent all the afternoon looking at their houses, &c which appeared to gratify them as well as ourselves, & then returned to the Springs about tea-time; this is really worth going a hundred miles to see; we shall attend their meeting to-morrow; I expect to be a little tired, as they have but one service, which continues as long as "the Spirit moves." This evening John Brown & myself have been amused by playing a variety of games, peculiar to this place, viz "the Devil among the Tailors," throwing the Ring &c which occupied us until ten o'clock, & then, I retired, & began scribbling to you. I hope you have been as faithful respecting particulars, as I have—then we shall compare notes with a great deal of pleasure; oh! how I wish, we could do it, now! it really seems two months, certainly, since I saw you, all standing at the door, bidding us good bye,—now, my health is entirely restored, I wish, more than ever, to return. Papa & myself, daily wish to hear Jo. sing "The White Cockade & peacock feather"; but adieu.

[To be continued.]



## REVEREND JONATHAN ODELL, ARNOLD'S CONFIDANT

**I**N the autumn of 1904, there appeared in a New York paper the notice of death of a lady named Odell, of Fredericton, New Brunswick. Probably most who read it wondered why it should appear in a New York paper; but behind it is a story of our Revolution, familiar enough when its chief personages, Arnold and André, are mentioned, yet to the ordinary reader entirely unconnected with the name of Odell—for none of the family have resided in New York since 1783. It is obvious, however, that there must be some persons left here who are interested in the family; hence the publication of the notice.

Though Sabine's "American Loyalists" was published many years ago, and has been followed by several similar though smaller works, the historic fact that a large proportion of our wealthy and educated population at the outbreak of the Revolution, were Loyalists (or "Tories"), honestly believing in the "Divine right" of monarchy, is not appreciated as it should be.<sup>1</sup> One of these Loyalists has a double claim on our attention, as associated with "Hail Columbia," and as the almost unknown person to whose care, in New York, Arnold sent his letters to Major André, under the signature of "Gustavus."

The traveler who visits the sleepy old town of Burlington, New Jersey, on the banks of the Delaware, only eighteen miles from Philadelphia, will have some difficulty in crediting history's assurance that for a long time after its founding in 1677, it was an active rival of Philadelphia itself; having its own commerce, with the West India islands, carried on by means of its own ships. He will find it now a quiet country town, with a large Quaker element, yet its most conspicuous church is an Episcopal—St. Mary's—the fourth rector of which is he with whom we are particularly concerned.

Jonathan Odell was a native Jerseyman, born in Newark, September 25, 1737, and a graduate of Princeton College. Medicine, and not the ministry, was the profession for which he studied at Nassau Hall,

<sup>1</sup> See Sargent's "Life and Career of Major Andre," edition 1902, pp. 66-67, for instances of unjust treatment of Loyalists; also Mr. Todd's article on Redding, in the MAGAZINE for May.

and he served as a regimental surgeon in the British Army for some time, and accompanied it to the West Indies when it changed station. The exact time when he left the service is unknown, but as he went to London to study theology, and was there ordained a deacon by the Bishop of London in 1766, it was probably not later than 1762 or '63. In January, 1767, he received full ordination as a clergyman of the Church of England, and was commissioned by the then new "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," as a missionary to take charge of its work in Burlington. Returning to his native land in the following July, he was promptly "inducted" as Rector of St. Mary's Church by William Franklin, the Governor of New Jersey, and son of the philosopher. With the Governor Dr. Odell appears to have been in high favor, both he and his wife making liberal gifts to the church. As the salary of a missionary was small, we find Dr. Odell resuming the practice of medicine, and in 1774 he was admitted to the New Jersey Medical Society. In explanation he wrote to the London Society, "I should actually find it difficult to maintain my Family, did I not call in to my aid the practice of Physick, for which profession I was originally educated."

For the few years preceding the Revolution, Dr. Odell seems to have led an active but not particularly eventful life as preacher and physician. But the day of Lexington and Bunker Hill was coming, to change the peaceful life he and others like him had led, and banish them from the familiar scenes of labor. In July, 1775, we find him writing the S. P. G.'s Secretary in London: "We pray that in these alarming troubles we may, by prudence & integrity of conduct contribute our mite towards obtaining a recovery and securing the future permanency of that harmony & peace upon just and practicable grounds, which is essential to the happiness & glory of the whole Empire."

His loyal sentiments were soon to become publicly known, for in October a man named Caster, about to sail for England, was arrested by the local "Committee of Inspection and Observation," which proceeded to justify its name by inspecting certain letters he was taking abroad. Two were from Dr. Odell to friends in London, and were promptly sent to the New Jersey Provincial Congress. The result was the adoption of this minute: "The Congress are of the opinion that it appears from the general purpose of Mr. Odell's letter that he disapproves of, and is in principle opposed to, the measures of defence adopted by the Continent to prevent the oppressive designs of the British ministry; but, as

this Congress would by no means violate the right of private sentiment, and as Mr. Odell's letter does not clearly appear to have been intended to influence public measures, and as some degree of ambiguity is contained in several parts thereof, this Congress do therefore decline passing any public censure against him."

But our parson did not profit by this narrow escape, and he evidently forgot that "prudence & integrity of conduct" of which his letter to London had spoken. A remarkably interesting event, for details of which posterity is indebted to the *MS* of "Daily Occurrences" in Burlington, a diary kept by a citizen named Crafts, soon occurred. A number of British officers, who had been made prisoners by Montgomery when he captured Chambly and St. Johns, the year before, were at this time quartered in Burlington. With a lack of good taste, or from a wish to annoy the "rebels" among whom they were living, they arranged to hold a celebration of George III's birthday, June 4th. Not being rash enough to have it in Burlington itself, they went to a convenient island in the Delaware, and had a day of jollification, helped out by a band of music—which Crafts says "had liked to have made a Rumpus." It did make a decided rumpus for Dr. Odell, for he was imprudent enough to exercise his undoubted poetical abilities in writing an ode in honor of the occasion, which was sung by the assemblage. The ode itself has only been preserved by the vigilance of the antiquary, but owes its importance to its having suggested to Joseph Hopkinson, in 1798, the writing of "Hail Columbia." The close resemblance between them will appear from the first stanza:

"O'er Britannia's happy land,  
Ruled by George's mild command,  
On this bright, auspicious day  
Loyal hearts their tribute pay."

It is not impossible that Major André may have been one of the company on this occasion, as his first place of confinement was Philadelphia. If so, the subsequent intimacy between himself and the poet was very natural.

As might have been expected the Burlington Whigs were mightily stirred up by this event. Very probably, only Dr. Odell's high personal character and the attachment of his patients and parishioners saved him from prompt banishment. As it was the New Jersey Convention, on July 20, ordered that he be compelled to give his parole, as a person sus-

pected of being inimical to American liberty, to confine himself to the east side of the Delaware, not to go beyond a radius of eight miles from the Burlington court house. His patron, Governor Franklin, was arrested about this time, and confined as a prisoner of war over two years.

On giving this parole and binding himself not to conduct any political correspondence or communicate with the British forces, he was unmolested until December, 1776. At that time a body of Hessians under Count Donop, who was afterwards killed leading the attack on Fort Mercer at Red Bank, occupied Burlington, and Dr. Odell was asked to accompany, as interpreter, a delegation of citizens who appealed to the Count that the town be not pillaged by his men. Unfortunately there were lying in the river five armed gondolas of the American flotilla, and these opened fire with cannon, hoping to drive out the enemy. They succeeded, as Donop had no artillery with which to reply, but he left for Bordentown to procure some, intending to return. As soon as his force left Burlington, as the Doctor wrote his London Society, "the Town was cruelly insulted and from day to day kept in alarm by those River Tyrants" (the captains of the gondolas). "Mr. Lawrence, young Mr. Hawlings & myself were in particular pursued by two Captains & a number of armed men. We made our escapes & were under the necessity of taking refuge among the King's Troops, and as the design of taking Post at Burlington was soon after given up" (by Donop) "I have been obliged to leave my wife and 3 children (the youngest not five weeks old) and to ramble as a Refugee, God knows when to return."

This letter is dated from New York, where he lived until it was evacuated by the British in November, 1783. Here (he writes in August, 1777) he was occasionally employed as a Deputy Chaplain in the Army. In 1782, he made an address on the occasion of the presentation of new flags to the "King's American Dragoons," having the future King William IV. among his auditors.

The chief incident of his life in New York, so far as our interest is concerned, is his close connection with André, who was Deputy Adjutant General during most of the period. The probable meeting on the Delaware led to further intimacy in New York, and Arnold's letters to André were addressed "Mr. John Anderson (André), to the care of Mr. James Osborne (Clinton), to be left at Rev. Mr. Odell's." If, as historians generally agree, Arnold's plot dates from the spring of 1777, then Odell was in New York almost all the time of the corres-

pondence. He was probably well acquainted with many or most of the British officers; but whether or not he knew the real purport of the letters he received for "Anderson" there is nothing to show. As a man of education and intelligence, he must have had some suspicions about them.

How the replies were sent to Arnold, is one of those historical mysteries not likely to be solved. The messenger, whoever he (or she) was, was reliable and secretive, for no trace of such an one ever came to light. It might be supposed that the secret would out, after the war was over, but like the identity of Washington's two spies in New York, the "Culpers," whose real names have never been so much as suspected, the mystery remained a mystery to the end.

Dr. Odell's personal character must have been dear to his Burlington people, for in August, 1777, he was notified that they would continue to pay his salary for the year, and he naïvely remarks in a letter to London, "It is very uncertain whether the Vestry may be able to carry this vote into effect, but it gives a pleasing proof of their friendly disposition in these times of Trial."

When the British evacuated New York, in November, 1783, he went with them to England—and from London, in July, 1784, wrote to his wife (whom he had not seen in seven years) in Burlington, that he still regarded himself as the rector of St. Mary's, and would hold the Vestry responsible for his salary. Evidently, the payments to him had long ceased. It was, however, the eve of happier days for him, for he soon received a lucrative appointment from the Crown, as Secretary, Registrar and Clerk of the Council of the province of New Brunswick. He went to Fredericton, where his family joined him, and where he held his office for nearly thirty years, dying in 1818, at the age of eighty-one. His wife, formerly Miss Anne DeCou, of Burlington, died in 1825. His son, William F. Odell, succeeded him in his office and held it for thirty-two years, dying in 1844—and his grandson, William H. Odell, died not many years ago. It is a singular coincidence that Arnold was a merchant in St. John, N. B., while Dr. Odell was living in Fredericton. The story of the burning of his (Arnold's) store there, in 1788, his being suspected of arson, and his libel suit against his partner, Hayt, on that account, are familiar facts of history, but it is not known that he ever met Dr. Odell while in either place; and it is doubtful if any Fredericton people know that the Provincial Secretary's name was ever connected with Major André or "Hail Columbia."

ODE FOR THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,  
JULY 4, 1802.

*By a Citizen of Boston.*

SEE the bright-haired golden Sun  
Lead Columbia's Birthday on;  
Mark the once o'ershadow'd soil,  
Dressed by Ceres, court his smile;  
While the distant vales prolong  
Sphere-descended Freedom's song.

*Chorus.* Till each mountain's time-struck head  
Leave a valley in its stead,  
As you are, forever be,  
Independent, firm, and free.

Our fathers sought this land afar,  
By the light of Freedom's star;  
Through trackless seas, unplough'd before,  
For us they left their native shore:  
The soil for which their blood has flown  
Shall be protected with our own.

*Chorus.* Till, etc.

Beneath the gentle smiles of peace,  
In arts our fame shall rival Greece.  
For power insatiate, let the car  
Of wild Ambition rush to war:  
We twine, beneath the Olive's shade,  
A wreath that age can never fade.

*Chorus.* Till, etc.

Lofty pæans strike the skies,  
To the Power who gave the prize:  
While Wachusett lifts its head  
O'er the plains on which you bled,  
Yearly let its vales reply,  
"Freely live, or nobly die."

*Chorus.* Hark! already to the strain,  
How they echo back again,  
As you are, forever be—  
Independent, firm, and free.



## CIVIL WAR SKETCHES

### IV

#### EDUCATION AND LITERARY ACTIVITY IN ALABAMA

##### SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

**D**URING the first year of the war the higher institutions of learning kept their doors open and the common schools went on as usual. The strongest educational institution was the University of Alabama, which was supported by State appropriations. In 1860, a military department was established there under Captain Caleb Huse, U. S. A., who afterwards became a Confederate purchasing agent in Europe. This step was not taken in anticipation of future trouble with the United States, but had been in contemplation for years. The student body had been rather turbulent and hard to control, and for the sake of order the students were put under a strict military discipline similar to the West Point system. Many students resigned early in 1861 and went into the Confederate service. Others, proficient in drill, were ordered by the Governor to the state camps of instruction to drill the new regiments. There were no commencement exercises in 1861; but the trustees met and conferred degrees upon a graduating class of fifty-two, the most of whom were in the army.

The fall session of 1861 opened with a slight increase of students, but they were younger than usual—from fourteen to seventeen years,—and not so well prepared as before the war. Parents sent young boys to school to keep them out of the army; many went to get the military training in order that they might become officers later; the State needed officers and encouraged military education. The University was required to furnish drill masters to the instruction camps without expense to the State. As soon as the boys were well drilled they usually deserted school and entered the Confederate service. This custom threatened to break up the school, and in 1862 all students were required to enlist as cadets for twelve months and were not permitted to resign. Yet they still deserted in squads of two, three, and four, and went to the army. Recruiting officers would offer them positions as officers and they would accept and leave the University. The students refused to study seriously anything except

military science and tactics. Numbers refused to take the examinations, in order that they might be suspended or expelled and thus be free to enlist.

In 1862-1863, 256 students were enrolled—more than ever before—but mostly boys of fourteen and fifteen. The majority of them were badly prepared in their studies, and it was necessary to establish a preparatory department for them. In 1863-1864 there were 341 boys enrolled—younger than ever. At the end of this session the first commencement since 1860 was held, and degrees were conferred on a few who had enlisted and on one or two who had not. The enrollment during the session of 1864-1865 was between 300 and 400—all boys of twelve to fifteen. The cadets were called out several times during this session to check Union raids. Little studying was done; all were spoiling for a fight. When Gen. Croxton came one night in 1865, the long roll was beaten and every cadet responded. Under the command of the president and the commandant they marched against Croxton, whose force outnumbered theirs six to one. There was a sharp fight in which a number of cadets were wounded, and then the president withdrew the corps to Marion in Perry county, where it was disbanded a few days later. It was now the end of the war. Croxton had imperative orders to burn the University buildings, and they were destroyed. There was a fine library, and the librarian, a Frenchman, begged in vain that it might be spared. The officers who fired the library saved one volume—the Koran—as a souvenir of the occasion.<sup>1</sup>

The Hospital for the Deaf and Dumb at Talladega and the Insane Asylum were continued throughout the war by means of State aid, and after the collapse of the Confederacy were not destroyed by the Northern forces.<sup>2</sup> La Grange College, a Methodist institution at Florence in North Alabama, lost its endowment during the war and was closed after the occupation of that section by the Northern Army. After the war it was given to the State, and is now one of the State Normal Colleges. In 1861, Howard College, the Baptist institution at Marion, sent three professors and more than forty students to the army. Soon there was

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Clark, *Education in Alabama*, 87-93; W. G. Clark, *The Progress of Education*, in *Memorial Record*, Vol. I, p. 160; Acts 1st Called Sess. (1861), p. 56; *New York Daily News*, May 29, 1861; *Century Magazine*, Nov., 1889. In recent years Congress has made a grant of lands in north Alabama to replace the burned buildings.—Rept. Comr. of Ed., 1899-1900, Vol. I, p. 484.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, *Education in Alabama*, pp. 149, 152, 153, 156; *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, p. 453.

only one professor left to look after the buildings; the rest of the faculty and all of the students had joined the army. The endowments and equipment of the college were totally destroyed. Nothing was left except the buildings.

The Southern University at Greensboro kept its doors open for three years but had to close in 1864 for want of students and faculty. Most of its endowment was lost in Confederate securities. After two years of war the East Alabama College at Auburn suspended exercises. The buildings were then used as a Confederate hospital. The endowment was totally lost in Confederate bonds, and after the war the property was given to the State for the Agricultural and Mechanical College, now the Alabama Polytechnic Institute. The Catholic College at Spring Hill near Mobile, the Judson Institute at Marion, a well known Baptist College for women, and the Methodist Women's College at Tuskegee managed to keep going during the war.<sup>3</sup> The student body at both male and female colleges was composed of younger and younger students each successive year. In 1865, only children were found in any of them.

In 1860 there were many private schools throughout the State. Every town and village had its high school or academy. For several years before the war military schools had been springing up over the State. State aid was often given these in the form of supplies of arms. Several were incorporated in 1860 and 1861. Private academies were incorporated in 1861 in Coffee, Randolph and Russell counties, with the usual provision that intoxicating liquors should not be sold within a mile of the school. Charters of several schools were amended to suit the changed conditions. These schools were all destroyed, with the exception of Professor Tutwiler's Green Springs School, which survived the war, though all its property was lost,<sup>4</sup> and two schools in Tuscaloosa. One of these, known as "The Home School," was conducted by Mrs. Tuomey, wife of the well-known geologist, and the other by Professor Saunders in the building later known as the "Athenæum."<sup>5</sup>

The only independent city public school system was that of Mobile, organized in 1852 after Northern models. The Boys' High School in

<sup>3</sup> Clark, *Education in Alabama*, pp. 164, 174, 179, 180.

<sup>4</sup> Clark, *Education in Alabama*, pp. 204, 208, 259; Acts 1st Called Sess. (1861), pp. 67, 70, 82, 113; Acts 2d Called Sess. and 1st Regular Sess., pp. 92, 93, 94; Brewer, *Alabama*, p. 347.

<sup>5</sup> *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, p. 513.

this city was kept open during the war, though seriously thinned in numbers. The lower departments and the girls' schools were always full.<sup>6</sup> The State system of public schools was organized in 1855 on the basis of the Mobile system. It was not in full operation when the war came, though much had been done.

During the first part of the war public and private schools went on as usual, though there was a constantly lessening number of boys who attended. Some went to war, while others, especially in the white counties, had to leave school to look after farm affairs as soon as the older men enlisted. Teachers of schools having over twenty pupils were exempt,<sup>7</sup> but as a matter of fact the teachers who were physically able enlisted in the army along with their older pupils. The teaching was left to old men and women, to the preachers and disabled soldiers; most of the pupils were small girls and smaller boys. The older girls, as the war went on, remained at home to weave and spin or to work in the fields. In sparsely settled communities it became dangerous, on account of deserters and outlaws, for the children to make long journeys through the woods and the schools were suspended. The schools in Baldwin county were suspended as early as 1861.<sup>8</sup>

Legislation for the schools went on much as usual. After the first year few new schools were established, public or private. Appropriations were made by the Legislature and distributed by the county superintendents. When the Union forces occupied North Alabama the Legislature ordered that school money should be paid to the county superintendents in that section on the basis of the estimates for 1861.<sup>9</sup> The sixteenth section lands were sold when it was possible and the proceeds devoted to school purposes.<sup>10</sup> A Confederate military academy was established in Mobile and conducted by army officers. The purpose of this institute was to give practical training to young and inexperienced officers and future officers.

Few, if any, of the schools were, entirely supported by public money. The small State contribution was eked out by contributions from the

<sup>6</sup> Clark, *Education in Alabama*, pp. 6, 7, 224, 226, 229, 239, 259; Ingle, *Southern Side-Lights*, p. 172.

<sup>7</sup> Pub. Laws C. S. A., 1st Cong., 1st Sess., Apr. 21, 1862; 1st Cong., 2d Sess., Oct. 11, 1862.

<sup>8</sup> Acts, 1st Called Sess. (1861), p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> Acts (1862), p. 97.

<sup>10</sup> Acts 2d Called and 1st Regular Sess. (1861), pp. 65, 182, 183, 223, 253, 255; Acts of 1863 and 1864.—*passim*.

patrons in the form of tuition fees. These fees were paid sometimes in Confederate money, but oftener in meat, meal, corn, cloth, yarn, salt, and other necessities of life. The school terms were shortened to two or three months in the summer and as many in the winter. The stronger pupils did not attend school when there was work for them on the farm; consequently the winter session was not fully attended. The school system as thus conducted did not break down, except in North Alabama, until the surrender, though many schools were discontinued in particular localities for want of teachers or pupils.

The quality of the instruction given was not of the best; only those taught who could do little else. The girls are said to have been much better scholars than the boys, whose minds ran rather upon military matters. Often their play was military drill, and listening to war stories their chief intellectual exercise.<sup>11</sup>

Some rare and marvelous text books again saw the light during the war. Old books that had been stored away for two generations were brought out for use. Webster's "Blue Back" speller was the chief reliance, and when the old copies wore out a revised Southern edition of the book was issued. Smith's Grammar was expurgated of its New England sentiments, and made a patriotic impression by its exercises. Davies' old Arithmetics were used and several new mathematical works appeared. Very large editions of Confederate text-books were published in Mobile, and especially in Richmond. South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia also furnished Confederate text-books to Alabama. Mobile furnished Mississippi.<sup>12</sup> I have seen a small

<sup>11</sup> My chief source of information in regard to the common schools during the war has been the accounts of persons who were teachers and pupils in the schools.

<sup>12</sup> From 1863 to 1865, W. G. Clark & Co., of Mobile, the chief educational publishers of the State, brought out a series of five readers—the "Chaudron Series," by Adelaide de V. Chaudron, a well-known writer of Mobile. Large numbers were sold. S. H. Goetzl, of Mobile, published Madame Chaudron's spelling book, of which 40,000 copies were sold in 1864 and 1865. W. G. Clark & Co. printed a revision of Colburn's Mental Arithmetic in 1864. A Mental Arithmetic by G. Y. Browne, of Tuscaloosa, is dated Atlanta, 1865, but was probably published in North Carolina. In 1864, W. G. Clark & Co. announced "A Book of Geographical Questions." Before the close of the war Confederate text-books were quite common in the State. The series were usually named "Confederate," "Dixie," "Texas," "Virginia," etc. Stephen B. Weeks—*A Preliminary Bibliography of Confederate Text-books*, (in Report of Comr. of Ed., 1898-1899, Vol. I, p. 1139), lists 16 primers, 14 spellers, 29 readers, 4 geographies, 1 dictionary, 12 arithmetics, 12 grammars, 8 books in foreign languages, 20 Sunday School and religious works, and 10 miscellaneous educational publications. Those published in Georgia, North and South Carolina and Virginia, sold largely in Alabama. Few came from the West. See, also, Yates Snowden, *Confederate Books*.

geography which had crude maps of all the countries including the Confederate States, but omitting the United States. A few lines of text recognized the existence of the latter country. Another geography was evidently intended to teach patriotism and pugnacity, judging from its contents. Here are some extracts from W. B. Moore's *Primary Geography*:

" . . . In a few years the Northern States, finding their climate too cold for the negroes to be profitable, sold them to the people living farther South. Then the Northern States passed laws to forbid any person owning slaves in their borders. Then the Northern people began to preach, to lecture, and to write about the sin of slavery. The money for which they had sold their slaves was now partly spent in trying to persuade the Southern States to send their slaves back to Africa. . . . The people [of the North] are ingenious and enterprising, and are noted for their tact in 'driving a bargain.' They are refined and intelligent on all subjects but that of negro slavery; on this they are mad. . . . This [the Confederacy] is a great country! The Yankees thought to starve us out when they sent their ships to guard our seaport towns. But we have learned to make many things; to do without others. . . . Q. Has the Confederacy any commerce? A. A fine inland commerce, and bids fair, sometime, to have a grand commerce on the high seas. Q. What is the present drawback to our trade? A. An unlawful Blockade by the miserable and hellish Yankee Nation."<sup>13</sup>

In some families the children were taught at home by a governess or by some member of the family. This was the case especially in the Black Belt where there were not enough white children to make up a school. Many mistresses of plantations were, however, too busy to look after the education of their children, and the latter when old enough would be sent to a friend or relative who lived in town, in order to attend school.<sup>14</sup> Sometimes a planter had a school on his plantation, primarily for the benefit of his own children. To this school would be admitted the children of all the whites on the plantation and of the neighbors who were near enough to come.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See Weeks, *Bibliography of Confederate Text-books*.

<sup>14</sup> See Mrs. Clayton, *White and Black*, p. 115, and Hague, *Blockaded Family*.

<sup>15</sup> See Hague, *A Blockaded Family*. Miss Hague was a teacher in a plantation school during the war.

## NEWSPAPERS

In 1860, there were ninety-six periodicals of various kinds published in Alabama. About twenty-five of these suspended publication during the war and were not revived afterwards. Numbers of others suspended for a short time when paper could not be secured or when being moved out of the way of the enemy. The monthly publications—usually agricultural—all suspended. The so-called "Unionist" newspapers of 1860 went to the wall early in the war or were sold to editors of different political principles.<sup>16</sup> In spite of the existence of war the circulation decreased. Most of the reading men were in the army; the people at home became less and less able to pay for a newspaper as the war progressed, and many persons read a single copy which was handed around the community. People who could not read would subscribe for newspapers and get some one to read for them. An eager crowd surrounded the reader. Papers left for a short time in the post office were read as a matter of right by the post office loiterers. Few war papers are now in existence—there were so many uses for them after they were read.

It is said that the newspaper men did more service in the field in proportion to numbers than any other class. At the first sound of war many of them left the office and did not return until the struggle was ended. Often every man connected with a paper would volunteer and the paper would then cease to be issued. There were instances when both father and son left the newspaper office and one or both were killed in the war. Colonel E. C. Bullock of the Alabama troops was a fine type of the Alabama editor. The law exempted from service one editor and the necessary printers for each paper. But little advantage was taken of this; few able-bodied newspaper men failed to do service in the field.<sup>17</sup>

Sometimes in North Alabama publication had to cease because of the occupation of the country by the Union forces, which confiscated or destroyed the printing outfits. It was difficult to get supplies of paper, ink and other newspaper necessities. No new lots of type were to be had at all during the whole war. Some papers were printed for weeks

<sup>16</sup> W. W. Screws, *Alabama Journalism*, in *Memorial Record of Alabama*, Vol. II, pp. 195, 234.

<sup>17</sup> Screws, pp. 194, 195, 205, 212, 218, 233, 234; Pub. Laws C. S. A., 1st Cong., 1st Sess., Apr. 21, 1862; Pub. Laws C. S. A., 1st Cong., 2d Sess., Oct. 11, 1862; Yates Snowden, *Confederate Books*.

at a time on blue, brown, or yellow wrapping-paper. The regular printing paper was often of bad quality and the ink was also bad, so that to-day it is almost impossible to read some of the papers. Others are as white and clean as if printed a year ago. A bound volume presents a variegated appearance—some issues clear, white and strong, others stained, and greasy from the bad ink. The type was often so worn as to be almost illegible. In some instances when the sense could be made out, letters were omitted from words, and even whole words were omitted in order to save the type for use elsewhere.

The reading matter in the papers was not as a rule very exciting. Brief summaries were given of military operations in which the Confederates were usually victorious, and of political events, North and South. One of the latest war papers that I have seen chronicles the defeat of Grant by Lee about April 10, 1865. Letters were printed from the editor in the field; former employees also wrote letters for the paper and items of interest from the soldiers' letters were published. New legislation, State and Confederate, was summarized. The Governor's proclamations were made public through the medium of the county newspapers. It was about the only way in which the Governor could reach his people. The orders and advertisements of the army commissaries and quartermasters and conscript officers were printed each week; there were advertisements for substitutes, a few for runaway negroes, and a very few trade advertisements; if a merchant had a stock of goods he was sure to be found without giving notice. Notices of land sales were frequent, but few negroes were offered for sale. The price of slaves was high to the last, a sentimental price. Many papers devoted columns and pages to the printing of directions for making at home various articles of food and clothing that formerly had been purchased from the North—how to make soap, salt, stockings, boxes without nails, coarse and fine cloth, substitutes for tea, coffee, drugs, etc.

Mobile, Montgomery, Selma and Tuscaloosa were the headquarters of the strongest newspapers. The *Mobile Tribune* and the *Register and Advertiser* were suppressed when the city fell; the material of the latter was seized. Both had been strong war papers. In April, 1865, the *Montgomery Advertiser* sent its material to Columbus, Georgia, to escape destruction by the raiders, but Gen. Wilson's men burned it there. In Montgomery, the newspaper files were piled in the street by Wilson and burned, and when Steele came with the second army of



invasion, the *Advertiser*, which was coming out on a makeshift press, was suppressed and not until July was it permitted to appear again. The *Montgomery Mail*, edited by Colonel J. J. Seibels, who had leanings towards peace, began early in 1865 to prepare the people for the inevitable. Its course was bitterly condemned by the *Advertiser* and by many people, but it was saved from destruction by this course.<sup>18</sup>

#### PUBLISHING HOUSES

Most of the people of Alabama had but little time for reading, and those who had the time and inclination were usually obliged to content themselves with old books. The family Bible was in a great number of homes almost the only book read. Most of the new books read by the people of Alabama were published in Atlanta, Richmond, or Charleston, though during the last two years of the war Mobile publishers sent out many thousand volumes. W. G. Clark & Co., of Mobile, confined their attention principally to text-books, works on military science and tactics, fiction, translations, music, etc. The best selling Southern novel published during the war was *Macaria* by Augusta J. Evans of Mobile. It was printed by Goetzel, who also published Mrs. Ford's *Exploits of Morgan and His Men*, which was pirated or reprinted by Richardson of New York. Walker, Evans & Cogswell, of Charleston, published Miss Evans' *Beulah*. Both *Macaria* and *Beulah* were reprinted in the North. Goetzel bound his books in rotten pasteboard and in wall paper. In 1864, he published (on wrapping paper) a four volume translation by Adelaide de V. Chaudron, of Mühlbach's *Joseph II. and His Court*. He published other translations of Miss Mühlbach's historical novels—her first American publisher. *Tannhauser* was first printed in America in Mobile. Hardee's *Rifle and Infantry Tactics*, in two volumes, and Wheeler's *Cavalry Tactics* were printed in large editions by Goetzel for the use of Alabama troops. Clark published *The Confederate States Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge*, a kind of annual encyclopedia.

Lt. Col. Freemantle's book, *Three Months in the Southern States*, was published in Mobile in 1864, and in the same year the works of Dickens and George Eliot were reprinted by Goetzel. Small devotional books and tracts were printed in nearly every town that had a printing

<sup>18</sup> Screws, pp. 161, 166, 188, 192, 231.

press. It is said that the church societies published no doctrinal or controversial tracts. Hundreds of different tracts, such as Cromwell's *Soldier's Pocket Bible* were printed for distribution among the soldiers. But not enough Bibles and Testaments could be made. The Northern Bible societies, with one exception, refused to supply the Confederate sinners. The American Bible Society of New York gave hundreds of thousands of Bibles, Testaments, etc., principally for the Confederate troops. At one time 150,000 were given; at another 50,000 and the work was continued after the war. In 1862, the British and Foreign Bible Society gave 310,000 Bibles, etc., for the soldiers, and gave unlimited credit to the Confederate Bible Society.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See, also, Yates Snowden, *Confederate Books*. I have examined copies of most of the books mentioned.

WALTER L. FLEMING.

MORGANTOWN, W. VA.



## WENDOVER AND THE FLAG

'Tis the Star Spangled Banner!  
Oh, long may it wave;  
O'er the land of the free  
And the home of the brave.

**W**HEN the passenger on his way up, perhaps, to the Municipal Building, corner 177th Street and Third Avenue, New York, hears the conductor call out "Wendover Avenue" at 172d Street, he may not know that the name is sacred to national pride, as sacred as the Stars and Stripes, of which the name is an historical part—for the world is indebted to Peter H. Wendover for the design of the Flag as it now appears—the thirteen stripes of white and red diverging from the constellation of forty-five white stars in a blue field.

The first legislative action taken in regard to the National Flag is found in the proceedings of the Continental Congress on the 14th June, 1777, when a resolution was adopted declaring "That the Flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation."

It remained unchanged by law after several other States were admitted, which led to some changes in the option of those who owned it. Some contained a star and a stripe for each State added until there were eighteen stars and stripes at the time that Mr. Wendover took the matter up in Congress on the 9th of December, 1816, at the second session, when at his instance a committee was appointed of which he was chairman. It made a report, but was not acted upon, and the subject was dropped at the close of the session. He was a sailmaker in New York and made flags for all that required them, so he knew by actual experience the impracticability there was in continuing to add a stripe as each new State was admitted.

Soon after the meeting of Congress in December, 1817, to which he had been elected, Mr. Wendover offered a resolution—"That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expedience of altering the Flag of the United States, and that they have to report by bill or otherwise."

He said had the Flag of the United States never undergone an alteration, he certainly would not propose to make a further alteration in it. It was his impression, he said, and he thought it was generally believed, that the Flag would be essentially injured by an alteration, on essentially the same principle as that which had been made, of increasing the number of the stripes and the stars.

He stated the incongruity of the flags in use (except those in the Navy) not agreeing with the law, and greatly varying from each other. He instanced the flag flying over the building in which Congress sat, and that at the Navy Yard, one of which contained nine stripes, the other eighteen, and neither of them conformable to law.

After some further remarks the motion was put and agreed to without opposition, and he was named chairman of the committee to report a law. Early in January following he reported a bill to alter the flag, which was agreed to by the committee. Among other reasons the committee reported that they are led to believe no alteration could be more emblematic of our origin and present existence, as composed of a number of independent and united States, than to reduce the stripes in the Flag to the original number of thirteen, to represent the number of States then contending for and happily achieving their independence and to increase the stars to correspond with the number of States now in the Union, and hereafter to add one star to the flag whenever a new State shall be fully admitted."

Mr. W. said: "The alteration proposed will direct the view to two strong facts in our national history, and teach the world an important reality, that republican government is not only practicable, but that it is also progressive. It points to the States as they commenced and as they now are, and will, with an inconsiderable addition, direct the mind to a future state of things."

Mr. Wendover said: "Sir, it cannot be deemed proper to go on and increase the stripes in our flag. There are now twenty States; what number they will ultimately extend to, none can conjecture. Sir, I am not now speaking of conquest, but I can no more believe that any portion of the earth will remain in perpetual thralldom, and be forever tributary to a foreign power, than I can subscribe to the doctrine of a ceaseless succession of legitimate kings."

At that time Spain, Portugal, Mexico, France, England, Russia and

other foreign governments ruled large territories adjoining the United States, or islands near the latter.

In conclusion, he said:

“ Mr. Chairman, in viewing this subject, there appears to be a happy coincidence of circumstances in having adopted the symbols in this flag, and a peculiar fitness of things in making the proposed alteration. In that part designed at a distance to characterize our country, and which ought for the information of other nations to appear conspicuous and remain permanent, you present the number of stars that burst the bonds of oppression and achieved our independence; while in the part intended for a nearer, or home view, you see a representation of our happy union as it now exists, and space sufficient to embrace the symbols of those who may hereafter join under our banners.”

No address was made on the subject by any other person.

The law of Congress reported and passed at his instance provided that on and after Fourth of July, 1818, the national flag should contain twenty white stars on a blue field, and thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, and that when any new State was added to the Union, on the following Fourth of July one star should be added to the number so that the flag would show the number of States in the Union.

It may not be amiss to add that when the colonies first united before the Declaration of Independence the British Union Jack was in the corner of the flag with thirteen white and red stripes running from it. It was used for the first time in January, 1776. This flag was changed in 1777, inserting thirteen white stars in place of the British Union Jack.

Mr. Wendover was born in New York city August 17, 1768, and was a member of the State Constitutional Conventions of 1801 and 1821. He was a member of Assembly in 1804, assistant alderman in 1810, alderman in 1811 to 1814, inclusive, and sheriff of New York in 1822, member of Congress from the 3d district in New York city from 1815 to 1821, being three terms, and died in New York city September 24, 1834.

While a member of the city government he took an active part in the war of 1812-15. He was one of a committee of three of the Aldermen that arranged the public dinner to Commodore Decatur and Captains Hull and Jones and their officers of the vessels the *Constitution*, the

*Wasp* and the *United States*, for the capture of the British ships of war the *Macedonian*, *Guerriere* and *Frolic*, in 1812.

The Common Council of the city, by a majority vote of the Federalists, refused to illuminate the City Hall or give Gen. Harrison, while here in 1812, a public dinner for his victories in the West over Tecumseh, and to present him with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and an elegant sword. The resolution to that effect was offered by Mr. Wendover in the Common Council, in October, 1812, before Gen. Harrison arrived, and was defeated by a vote of 12 to 5.

When Gen. Harrison arrived in the city in the following month it was resolved by the Democrats to give him a grand dinner in the afternoon at Tammany Hall, (the present *Sun* building) under the direction and superintendence of the State Democratic General Committee. Among the eminent guests present were Gov. Tompkins, Major-Generals Dearborn and Hampton and a great number of the officers of the Army and Navy. Col. Henry Rutgers presided and Alderman Wendover assisted as a vice-president of the occasion. Among the many toasts given was one by Mr. Wendover, "The Federal Union, the main spring of our liberty; like Washington let us distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, endeavor to weaken it." The illuminations and transparencies that adorned Tammany Hall in the evening were striking. One of them was a large painting, representing the Indians surrendering to Gen. Harrison, who was pointing to a view in the distance of the battle of Lake Erie. Over this was inscribed: "Harrison, Perry, Don't Give Up the Ship."

It is this man Wendover that we should honor for the present form of our National Flag, and it is he whom the name of Wendover avenue commemorates. Let us think of it in this connection.

R. S. GUERNSEY.

NEW YORK CITY.

## EBENEZER HOGG VS JOHN PAUL JONES

### A NEW HAMPSHIRE CASE

**T**HAT John Paul Jones, the George Washington of the United States Navy, should ever have been placed under arrest, by civil or any other process, on New Hampshire soil, is a fact little known and much to be regretted by the people of the Granite State. This was the State which not only gave him the *Ranger*, his first command under a United States commission, but also his three lieutenants, master, surgeon, three midshipmen, twenty-three of his crew, and twelve apprentice boys. What wonder, if here in our little hilly state, with an insignificant strip of only eighteen miles of rocky seacoast, we feel a pride in the brilliant achievements of our first naval hero, and a sense of claim and affection such as we have for our nearest kinsmen?

It was from Portsmouth, our only seaport, that he sailed forth on a career of seven years of conquest, and the oaken planks of his ship, hard as the hills on which they grew, were a fit setting for the indomitable courage and relentless purpose of the man who trod them. But great minds are often troubled by little things, and the king of beasts cannot protect himself from the flea. There is, however, no evidence that this matter was any source of anxiety to Commodore Jones, but it was a worrisome thing to his counsel for a time, until the Legislature came to his relief.

We have two facts of consolation in this matter. It was not a New Hampshire man who was the cause of annoyance to John Paul Jones, although the warrant was issued by a New Hampshire judge, and served by a New Hampshire sheriff. This was a mere accident due to the fact that when the plaintiff decided to apply the balm of law to his injuries, Jones was stationed at Portsmouth on a temporary duty under the orders of Congress. This necessitated the application to New Hampshire courts. But it was a New Hampshire man who came to his assistance, Gen. John Sullivan, a man who will never be forgotten by the people of his native State, though to his memory no adequate memorial exists save in the hearts of his countrymen. Nor is General Sullivan alone in neglect,

for, of all our Revolutionary heroes and patriots, Stark alone is suitably represented in bronze or stone. Where are our statues, busts, monuments of John Langdon, whose private fortune, even to his plate, voluntarily offered for that purpose enabled New Hampshire to equip the troops sent under Stark to stop Burgoyne and save the new nation of the western world from dismemberment in its infancy, the man whose private purse gave Stark the opportunity which made him famous; of Meshech Weare, chairman of the committee of safety all through the war; of Col. Alexander Scammell, adjutant-general of Washington's army; of Gen. Enoch Poor, of whom Washington said, "An officer of distinguished merit, who, as a citizen and a soldier, had every claim to the esteem of his country," and of whom Lafayette said, standing by the grave with tears in his eyes, "Ah! That was one of my generals!" To our discredit we must answer, "There are none."

But the deeds of these men are not yet all known. Occasionally an incident is cleared from the dust of the past, like the one here written, which but adds lustre to their memory, and shows us the human as well as the heroic in their nature.

Ebenezer Hogg of Boston, mariner, renders an account against John Paul Jones, Esquire, for £21.18.0 due him for services as steward on board the *Bon Homme Richard* from February 15 to July 11, 1779, at fifteen Spanish milled dollars a month as per agreement. The bill is dated L'Orient, France, July 11, 1779, and is sworn to before Robert Fletcher, clerk of the inferior court in Hillsborough county, N. H., April 4, 1783. An attachment on the estate of John Paul Jones, in the sum of £30.0.0, dated November 5, 1782, was issued by Jonathan Lovewell, one of the justices of the inferior court of Hillsborough county. It was directed to John Parker, sheriff of Rockingham county, for service, and in it Commodore Jones is described as of Portsmouth, N. H. By this document it is alleged:

"That the said Jones at Portsmouth aforesaid on the first day of October last being indebted to the plaintiff in the sum of twenty one pounds eighteen shillings lawful money according to the account annexed in consideration thereof then and there promised the plaintiff to pay him that sum on demand And also for that the said Jones there afterwards on the same day in consideration that the plaintiff at the special instance & request of the said Jones had before that time done for him other labour & service such as aforesaid then & there promised the plaintiff to pay him so much money for the last mentioned labour & service as he reasonably deserved



to have for the same on demand Now the plaintiff avers that he ought to have another sum of twenty one pounds eighteen shillings like money whereof the said Jones had due notice Yet tho' often requested has not paid either of the afores<sup>d</sup> sums but still neglects & refuses so to do "

Sheriff Parker made return November 6, 1782, that he had taken the body of John Paul Jones, and had accepted Major-General John Sullivan for bail.

Jones had been on duty at Portsmouth for about four months, engaged in superintending the launching and fitting out of the ship *America*, which he had been appointed to command. He was out of his element as a naval constructor, and declared that this was the most disagreeable duty of his life. The contests with men and materials in the lumber yard were but a provocation to the spirit that longed for the conquests of the sea. But he persevered in his work, soothed in a measure by the thought that he was building his own ship, then the finest in the navy, by the help of which he might further pursue the career he loved. Then, when his ship was done, and manned with his old and trusted officers and what were left of his former crew on the *Ranger* and the *Bon Homme Richard*, came what was perhaps the greatest disappointment of his career, a resolve of Congress and a letter from Robert Morris directing him to deliver his ship to the Chevalier de Martigne, whose former command the *Magnifique*, had recently been wrecked at the entrance to Boston harbor. On the 5th of November, 1782, he gave up his ship, and went to Philadelphia the next day.

All these things serve to prove to us the state of mind Jones must have been in, when, on the day of his departure for Philadelphia, Sheriff Parker touched him on the shoulder at the instance of one Ebenezer Hogg, mariner, of Boston. In his extremity he turned to John Sullivan, who had retired from active service a disappointed man, and resumed the practice of his profession.

The case came up before the inferior court of Hillsborough county, Justices Jonathan Lovewell, James Underwood, Timothy Farrar, and Jeremiah Page sitting, on the first Tuesday of April, 1783. Commodore Jones did not appear to defend himself, for, after placing the matter in General Sullivan's hands, he had gone to Philadelphia in accordance with his orders, and other opportunities of service failing, he was at that time serving as a volunteer officer on the French flag-ship in the West Indies.

His counsel did not appear for reasons which he hereafter relates. Consequently the case went to the plaintiff by default, and Hogg was awarded damages in the sum of £21.18.0, and costs of £3.16.0.

General Sullivan, not being able to produce his principal, found himself liable for the entire amount of damages and costs. This was a serious matter to him, for he was a generous, improvident man, to whom a dollar in hand was a dollar to spend, and he decided to fight the case out rather than submit to an unjust verdict, and one which reflected such discredit on the State. In his own words he tells us of the affair, for we have his petition to the Legislature for authority to reënter the case and try it on its merits:

*To the Honorable the Council and House of Representatives now assembled at Concord within and for the State of New Hampshire on the third Wednesday of December A : D : 1783—*

Humbly Shews John Sullivan of Durham in the County of Strafford Esq<sup>r</sup> That upon the recall of John Paul Jones Esq<sup>r</sup> from Portsmouth where he had been sent by Congress to take charge of the ship America; it was communicated to your petitioner in confidence how & in what manner that Gentleman was to be employed, for the advantage of the United States. That on the Day of the said Jones<sup>s</sup> departure from Portsmouth, he applyed to your petitioner & informed him that he was arrested at the suit of one Ebenezer Hogg of Boston, for wages due to him for his services on board A Vessel of War, which the said Jones commanded in the service of the united states. That your petitioner being well Acquainted with the necessity of the said Jones<sup>s</sup> speedy arrival in Philadelphia, and sensible that it would do no honor to the state to have a Gentleman who had been intrusted with the command of the first ship of the Line constructed in America arrested & confin'd at the moment of his Intended departure, and being also sensible that by a resolve of your honorable Body, no person in Actual service was to be arrested or detained, & Learning The uniform practice of the Courts, that no Judgment could be given against any person employed in the army, or Navy of the United States while they continued in such employment; became Bail for the said Jones; & from a persuasion that no court would suffer Judgment to be entered against said Jones, while employed in the Defence of the United States; neglected to attend at the Inferior Court at Amherst, where the Action was triable; but the Justices of that Court at their session in April Last, notwithstanding it was well known that the said Jones was then in the service of the United States; Entered Judgment against him by default, and issued Execution thereon, by means whereof your petitioner as attorney to said Jones is deprived of the advantage of Trying the merits of the original Action and as Bail is Liable to pay the whole Demand. Wherefore Your petitioner most humbly prays that the said Judgment may be Annulled; & that he

as attorney to said Jones may be Let in to dispute the Merits of the original Action; the former Judgment & Execution thereon notwithstanding: and Your petitioner as in Duty bound will pray.

JN<sup>o</sup> SULLIVAN in behalf of himself and JN<sup>o</sup> PAUL JONES—  
CONCORD June 10<sup>th</sup> 1783

A hearing on the petition was ordered, and was adjourned from time to time, one party or the other being unable to attend. John Prentice was attorney for the plaintiff, and explains the absence of his principal and himself in November in a letter to the speaker of the house:

LONDONDERRY 3<sup>d</sup> November 1783—

*The Hon<sup>ble</sup> John Dudley Esq<sup>r</sup> Speaker of the House of Representatives—*

Sir I Just rec<sup>d</sup> the Inclosed Notification informing that the Petition of the Hon<sup>d</sup> General Sullivan respecting Ebenezer Hogg is to be heard on Wednesday next I would inform the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Assembly that the said Hogg attended all the last Week or on the Day appointed—is now gone to Rhode Island & Cannot be notified—I am obliged to attend the Supreme Court at Salem in the County of Essex & Cannot attend your Hon<sup>rs</sup> Wherefore in his behalf beg your Hon<sup>rs</sup> to postpone the hearing to some future Day that Hogg himself may be present & have a fair Trial from your most obedient humble Servant

JOHN PRENTICE.

In his turn the defendant was unable to be present either in person or by counsel in December, and General Sullivan explained his necessary absence to the speaker and submitted some evidence and argument for the granting of the petition. The depositions referred to are not now to be found.

DURHAM Decem<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1783

Sir—As my Journey to Annapolis will prevent my attending the General Court, on the day appointed for the hearing my Petition in behalf of Cap<sup>t</sup> JN<sup>o</sup> Paul Jones—I have taken the liberty to send by M<sup>r</sup> Ebenezer Smith some Depositions relative to M<sup>r</sup> Hoggs Conduct and requested him to answer in my behalf—my only wish is That Cap<sup>t</sup> Jones may have a Trial of the merits as he was defaulted by mistake & in my opinion contrary to the Laws of the State as he was then in actual service—By the Depositions from Philadelphia it will appear that M<sup>r</sup> Hogg by desertion forfeited his whole wages but even if that was not the case Cap<sup>t</sup> Jones could be no more Liable to such an action than a Commanding officer is to the suits of his soldiers. M<sup>r</sup> Hogg pretends that the ship which Cap<sup>t</sup> Jones commanded was private property but surely any person in the Least acquainted with the American affairs must be sensible that his assertion has no foundation in truth. I know that

she has ever been considered as a vessel of war in the service of the united States, by Congress: & the officers & men had Rank Rations & pay the same as in other of our ships of war—But even if she was a private ship I know of no Law by which a Commander is made liable for the wages of the marriners unless by special Contract—and even if it was possible for him to prove such agreement it must have been forfeited by M<sup>r</sup> Hogg's Desertion, which is fully proved by the Testimonies which M<sup>r</sup> Smith will lay before the assembly—I Therefore flatter myself that upon every possible view of the Case the assembly must be satisfied that M<sup>r</sup> Hoggs suit is vexatious & that a Recovery against Cap<sup>t</sup> Jones would be unjust; & I have too high an opinion of the Justice of our Legislature to suppose that so reasonable a request as that of granting an injured officer a fair tryal will admit of dispute—

I have the honor to be with the most perfect esteem sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

JN<sup>o</sup> SULLIVAN

Finally the matter was brought to consideration April 2, 1784, and the plaintiff presented his case in a counter-petition which we are fortunate enough to find.

*To The Honorable the Council & house of Representatives in General Assembly, convened at Exeter on the last Tuesday of March A D 1784—*

Humbly shews Ebenezer Hogg of Boston in the County of Suffolk & commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay that upon a Citation from the Honorable General Assembly at Concord convened the last October A D 1783 to Shew cause why the prayer of John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> at Durham in the county of Stafford in Behalf of himself & John Paul Jones Esq<sup>r</sup> should not be granted: Respecting a Judgment of Court recovered against John Paul Jones Esq<sup>r</sup> at Amherst court last April Term, praying the Said Execution to be Annulled, which the Said John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> was Returned Bail, & hath availed himself by Reviving his Petition to this Honbl<sup>e</sup> Assembly in my Absence, to prevent my taking my remedy against him as Bail; till the year is almost Expired, after which Period the law hath not pointed out any Remedy against the Bail; Your Petitioner begs leave to inform the Honorable council & Assembly that he hath made use of every Legal Measure in the Prosecution of John Paul Jones Esq<sup>r</sup>. Firstly, Wrote him a letter. Afterwards waited on him, Finding no other Alternative, but to prosecute him or Finally lose the Demand; on his Departure he was Arrested to Answer to your Petitioner at Amherst Court in January Term A D 1783 which was continued till April, interim conversed John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> who informed me they did not dispute the Justice of the Demand but the process was Illegal: Your Petitioner Attended at April Term with his Evidence to support his Demand & the Said John Paul Jones Esq<sup>r</sup> was Defaulted, & Execution Issued, & your Petitioner hath been prevented of his Remedy ags<sup>t</sup> John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> by his Frequent Petitions to the Former & present Honbl<sup>e</sup>

Assembly to Annul your Petitioners Execution; & to restore the Said John Paul Jones Esq<sup>r</sup> to law & John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> to be let in as Attorney to Dispute the Original Action, Your Petitioner Prays that as he hath given every Legal chance to the Said John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> to Defend, & hath been long Detained from his Just Demand, Attended with great Expences, to recover his Right, that he may have immediate Remedy against John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> as Bail, Your Petitioners present urgent Business prevents his present Attendance on the Honbl<sup>e</sup> Assembly & is Soon going to Depart this Quarter on Business; your petitioner as in Duty Bound shall Ever pray—

EBENEZER HOGG

APRIL 2<sup>d</sup> 1784—

After hearing all that was to be said on both sides the general court granted the request of General Sullivan, and he was authorized to bring in a bill for reëntering the case. This he lost no time in doing, and it was passed into an act April 9, 1784, and approved April 13. During all the time the matter had been before the general court any further action against Jones or Sullivan had been suspended by order. The act authorized Commodore Jones to again enter his case in the inferior court of common pleas for Hillsborough county at the term to be held at Amherst on the first Tuesday of July, 1784, with full power to try the merits of the case as though no judgment had been rendered, and the former decree of the court was annulled. It was provided, however, that in case the plaintiff should again recover General Sullivan should be held answerable as bail for one year after final judgment, and that the plaintiff should have liberty to tax the costs of both trials should he be successful. The case appeared on the docket of the July term, but was continued from term to term until September, 1785, when it was marked "neither party appeared" and dropped from the docket.

OTIS G. HAMMOND.

CONCORD, N. H.

## THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, WITH  
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE ROYAL COLONY  
OF NEW YORK.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE PRESS IN PENNSYLVANIA

**I**N the other New England colonies we find nothing of sufficient importance to justify an investigation, but when we pass to Pennsylvania we again come into a field where the battle for the liberty of the press was vigorously carried on. This was the second colony where the press was established, and the printer was William Bradford afterwards of New York. Coming to Philadelphia from England in 1682, then returning to England, and finally settling permanently in America in 1685, the first issue of his press, a "Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense, or America's Messenger, an Almanack," dated 1685, taught him to appreciate how carefully he must walk in order to avoid trouble. Opposite the days of the month he set down the remarkable events that had occurred on them in the past. Opposite one he printed "The beginning of Government here by Lord Penn." No sooner had the Secretary of the Council read these words in the advance sheets than he summoned Bradford to appear before the Council, where he was ordered to blot out the words "Lord Penn" and warned "Not to print anything but what shall have licence from ye Council."<sup>1</sup>

The Society of Friends followed the lead of the Council and the minutes of the Friends' Meetings of the time give evidence of a desire on their part to share in the control.

"Quarterly Meeting 10 Month 5, 1687.

"Ordered by this Meeting that Wm. Bradford the Printer do show what concerns Friends or Truth before printing, to the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia; and if it requires speed, to the Monthly Meeting where it may belong.

And it is further Ordered by the Meeting that John Eakly, John Sheldon, Samuel Richardson and Samuel Carpenter do view or peruse

<sup>1</sup> Min. of Provincial Council, Vol. I, p. 115.

the Almanack of Edward Eakin's writing, before it goes to be printed, on behalf of this meeting."<sup>2</sup>

Thus we find Bradford under two masters, a censorship of State and Church. It is not difficult for us to understand the troubles that Bradford had to endure, under a Governor and Council jealous of any infringement on the royal prerogative, and a Meeting that would scrutinize every line printed for sign of heresy. And so Bradford found each year more troublesome than the last.

In 1689 he was in serious trouble with Governor John Blackwell, when as J. W. Wallace says,<sup>3</sup> "He was the first man to establish the press in these Middle colonies. He was the first man, anywhere, so far as I know, to maintain its freedom against arbitrary power." It was at a time when there was much feeling between the Governor and the people as to their respective rights and Bradford printed the charter which Penn had given but, since he appears to have anticipated trouble, he put no imprint on the tract. However, as he was the only printer in the Province it required no deep thought to discover from whose press it must have proceeded. In what Bradford did there is no doubt that he, or those for whom he worked, had given to the Governor serious cause for complaint. To quote John Bach McMaster,<sup>4</sup> "The Opposition, Quakers though they were, had carefully and deliberately distorted the Frame to suit their own ends. From one line in the Charter they dropped the word 'Jurisdiction.' From another which read 'A Committee of the Provincial Council,' they took away 'of the Provincial Council.' But the most serious change of all was in the line which declares that by the Council and Assembly 'All laws shall be made, officers chosen and publick affairs transacted.' From this the words 'officers chosen' were carefully omitted."

The matter was first discussed in the Council in whose Minutes for May 9th, 1689 we find the following entry: "The Governor acquainted the Board . . . . that he had this morning received a printed paper, (called the frame of the Government of this Province etc.) brought unto him by the Secretary, who said he had it from Wm. Clark, a member of this board, and that he had it from Jos. Growdon; who being present, the Governr. desired to know of him how he came by it.

Jos. Growdon answered, Wm. Clark had a little book of me. The

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Wallace. "Bradford Centenary" p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> "Bradford Centenary," p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> "A Free Press in the Middle Colonies," Princeton Review, Vol. I.

Goverr. asked him again how he came by it, and told him it was a high presumption in any man, especially a member of that Board, to promote the publishing of any paper of such concerne without direction, Especially for that it was false in so fundamental a poynt as that was, and that unless he could cleare himselfe he was liable to Censure . . . . . The Govrr. Said . . . . . that he looked upon it, as being of a dangerous nature (in the present condition of our affayrs, and distractions the Countrey were in) to have such a paper published; not only for that it was false, But for that the Proprietor had declared himself against the using of the printing presse; and especially for that there seemed to him to be several things therein containd which though they might be fit for the people of this Province to know (and that they might do by having resort to the Keeper's, where it was lodged,) but would be of ill consequence to be known to others, and might possibly bring the Proprietor's title in question."

Bradford was summoned to appear before the Governor and Council, when the following conversation ensued;<sup>5</sup>

The Governor having taxed him with the printing, Bradford replied;

Bradford.— "Since thee came here, Governour, I never heard of anything to the contrary, but that I might print such things as came to my hand, whereby to get my living; it is that by which I subsist; nor do I know of any Imprimatur appointed."

Governor.— "Sir, I am Imprimatur; and that you shall know. I will bind you in a bond of £500, that you shall print nothing but what I do allow of; or I shall lay you fast."

Bradford.— "Governour, I have not hitherto known thy pleasure herein, and therefore hope that thou wilt judge the more favorably, if I have done anything that does not look well to some."

Governor.— "Sir, I have particular order from Governour Penn for the suppressing of printing here, and narrowly to look after your press; and I will search your house, look after your press, and make you give in £500 security to print nothing but what I allow, or I'll lay you fast."

William Penn's known relations with King James II, and the attitude of the latter toward the liberty of the individual, and his attempts in England to control the press, may explain this position which Penn had assumed. A foreshadowing of it appears in the Minutes of the Provin-

<sup>5</sup> Wallace. "Bradford Centenary," p. 50. Original in Bradford's handwriting in possession of N. Y. Hist. Society.



cial Council, 23d day, 3d month, 1683,<sup>6</sup> Wm. Penn himself presiding. "It was proposed to have an attested Coppy of the Laws printed. After some debate the Govr. put the Question, and it was carried in the Negative, they should not be printed."

Under such restrictions as these we are not surprised to find that the young man seriously considered the advisability of returning to England, and that he applied to and received from the General Meeting of Friends a certificate of good character and dismissal to England. But so much dissatisfaction was expressed on all sides at the prospect of his leaving Philadelphia that the General Society at its next meeting voted him an annual subsidy of £40, and agreed to give him enough work to warrant his remaining. The idea of returning to England seems now to have been finally laid aside.

Three years later, in 1692, George Keith, a member of the Society of Friends, became involved in a religious dispute and parties were soon formed. Keith, in order to present his position to the General Meeting of the Friends, wrote a pamphlet, setting forth his views and claims, and this pamphlet was published by Wm. Bradford, who belonged to his faction. For this Bradford was arrested, and put in prison, and his press and tools seized by the sheriff. John McComb, for having two copies of the pamphlet in his possession, was put in prison along with Bradford. The Warrant for committing Bradford and McComb read in parts as follows: "Whereas, Wm. Bradford, printer, and John McComb, taylor, being brought before us on an information of Publishing, Uttering, and Spreading a Malitious and Seditious paper, intituled An Appeal from the Twenty-Eight Judges to the Spirit of Truth etc. Tending to the disturbance of the Peace and the Subversion of the Present Government, and the said Persons being required to give Securitie to answer it at the next Court, but they refused so to do. These are therefore to require you to take into your Custody etc."

When, at the next session of the Court Bradford was brought to the bar, he was presented as the printer of the seditious paper "The Appeal" which was declared to have a tendency to weaken the hands of the government; and in the second place it was charged that he had printed it without putting his name on it. When the jury were called he challenged two on the ground that they had formed and expressed opinions, not to

<sup>6</sup> Min. Prov. Council I, p. 18.

the fact of his having published the paper, but as to its being of a *sedition character*; opinions which he himself had heard them express. The following discussion then ensued: Prosecuting Attorney "Hast thou at any time heard them say that thou printed the paper? for that is only what they are to find."

Bradford.—"That is not only what they are to find. They are to find also whether this be a seditious paper or not, and whether it does tend to weaken the hands of the magistrates."

Attorney.—"No, that is a matter of law, which the jury is not to meddle with, but find whether Wm. Bradford printed it or not."

Justice Jennings.—"You are only to try whether Wm. Bradford printed it or not?"

Bradford.—"This is wrong; for the jury are judges in the law as well as in matter of fact."

Justice Cook.—"I will not allow these exceptions to the jurors."

On this David Paul Brown of the Philadelphia Bar remarks: "We have, therefore, in this trial, evidence of the fact, interesting to the whole press of America, and especially interesting to the Bar and Press of Pennsylvania, that, on the soil of Pennsylvania, the father of her press asserted, in 1692, with a precision not since surpassed, a principle in the law of libel, hardly then conceived anywhere, but which now (1856) protects every publication in this State and in much of our Union: a principle which English judges, after the struggles of the great Whig Chief Justice and Chancellor, Lord Camden, throughout his whole career, and the brilliant declaimer, Mr. Erskine, were unable to reach; and which, at a later day, became finally established in England only by the enactment of Mr. Fox's Libel Bill in Parliament itself."<sup>7</sup>

The jury did not agree, and Bradford was held over to the next Term. At this time he was not tried again, but a request by him that his tools and press be returned to him was denied. Then Penn was deprived of the province, and when Governor Fletcher arrived in Philadelphia and held his Council, we find a petition from Bradford in the matter.<sup>8</sup> "Upon reading the petition of Wm. Bradford, printer, directed to his Excell. wherein he setts forth that in September last his tooles and Letters

<sup>7</sup> David Paul Brown, *The Forum*, Vol. I, p. 281.

<sup>8</sup> Min. Provincial Council, Apr. 27, 1693.

were Seized by order of the Late Rulers, for printing some books of Controversie, and are still kept from him, to the great hurt of his family, and prays Reliefe. His Excell. did ask the advice of this board. The Severall members of Councill being well acquainted with the truth of the petitioner's allegations, are of opinion, and doe advise His Excell. To Cause the petitioner's tooles and Letters to be restored to him.

Ordered that John White, Sheriffe of Philadelphia, doe Restore to William Bradford, printer, his tooles and Leteers, taken from him in September Last."

In the same year Bradford, on the advice and even solicitation of Governor Fletcher, removed to New York where we shall meet with him again, when we study the condition of the press in that colony.

Andrew Bradford, the son of that Wm. Bradford of whom we have just written, was born in Philadelphia in 1686, and, after going to New York with his father, returned to Philadelphia in 1712 where he carried on the business of printing, having, through his father's influence, secured a press belonging to the Society of Friends. Here he was appointed "Printer to the Province," and on Dec. 22, 1719 he began to print "The American Weekly Mercury" the first newspaper in the Middle States, where his father had founded the first press. In 1721 he in his turn became involved in a dispute with the law officers of the Crown. At this time, a discussion going on in regard to the finances of the Province, there appeared in the Mercury of Jan. 2, 1721 (O. S.) the following paragraph:

"Our General Assembly are now sitting, and we have great expectations from them, at this juncture, that they will find some effectual remedy to revive the dying credit of the Province, and restore us to our former happy circumstances."

In regard to this paragraph we find the following in the Minutes of the Provincial Council for Jan. 19, 1721. (O. S.) "Upon a motion made, that Andrew Bradford, Printer, be examined before this Board concerning the publishing of the late Pamphlet, entituled Some Remedies proposed for the restoring the Sunk Credit of the Province of Pennsylvania, as also of the Weekly Mercury of the 2d of January instant, the last paragraph whereof seems to have been intended as a reflection upon the Credit of this province: it is ordered That he the said Printer, have notice to attend this Board at the next meeting of Council." And on

Feb. 1st we read "The Board being informed that Andrew Bradford, the Printer, attended according to order, He was called in and examined concerning a late Pamphlet, entitled *Some Remedies proposed for restoring the Sunk Credit of the Province of Pennsylvania*; Whereupon, He declared that He knew nothing of the printing or of the publishing of the said Pamphlet; And being reprimanded by the Governor for publishing a certain paragraph in his *News-Letter*, called the *American Mercury* of the 2d of January last, He said that it was inserted by his Journey-Man, who composed the said Paper, without his Knowledge and that he was very sorry for it, and for which he humbly submitted himself and asked Pardon of the Govr. and the Board:—Whereupon the Governour told him, That he must not for the future presume to publish anything relating to or concerning the affairs of this Government, or the Government of any other of his Majesty's Colonies, without the permission of the Governour or Secretary of this province, for the time being, And then he was dismissed and the Council adjourned."

For eight years Andrew Bradford kept free from any trouble with the government, but in 1729 he was once more summoned to appear before the Council. At this time Benjamin Franklin was contributing to a series of articles appearing in the *Mercury*, and afterwards continued by others under the common name of *Busy Body*. In No. 31, published just before the date of an election, he said: "To the friends of liberty, firmness of mind and public spirit are absolutely requisite; and this quality, so essential and necessary to a noble mind, proceeds from a just way of thinking that we are not born for ourselves alone, nor our own private advantages alone, but likewise and principally for the good of others and service of civil society. This raised the genius of the Romans, improved their virtue, and made them protectors of mankind. This principle, according to the motto of these papers, animated the Romans.—Cato and his followers—and it was impossible to be thought great or good without being a patriot; and no one could pretend to courage, gallantry, and greatness of mind, without being first of all possessed with a public spirit and love of their country."

Of this Essay Mr. David Paul Brown<sup>9</sup> remarks, "It was well written, and though bold in parts, an air of pleasantry took from it much aspect of malignity. Indeed the whole piece is subdued, below the standard even of orthodoxy in modern democratic politics, and contains

<sup>9</sup> Forum I, 283.

much which deserves and would receive at all times, the admiration of every party."

The matter was at once taken up by the government, as the following extract for Sept. 20, 1729 from the Minutes of the Provincial Council shows:

"The Governor acquainted the Board that he now called them together to lay before them a News paper published in this Province, printed and sold by Andrew Bradford, numbered 506, in which a Letter signed Brutus or Cassius, or both, appears to reflect on the King and government of Great Britain, and to incite the Inhabitants of this Province to throw off all subjection to the regular and established Powers of Government. And the same being read and considered by the Board, It is their Opinion that it is a wicked and seditious Libell, tending to introduce Confusion under the notion of Liberty, and to just regard due to Persons in Authority. 'Tis therefore Ordered that the said Bradford be immediately taken into Custody, and examined by the Mayor and Recorder of this City, or any other two Justices of the Peace, and that his Dwelling House and Printing Office be searcht for the written Copy of the said Libel, that the author may be discovered, and that the Attorney General commence a prosecution against the said Bradford for printing and publishing the same.

N. B.

This order being executed, and the Original Copy being found, it appeared to be wrote by one Campbell, a Parson of dissolute character, who had lived for some time in Newcastle County, but his scandalous behaviour proving intolerable to his Hearers there, he removed to Long Island, from whence he sent that Paper with others of the same strain, by the Post to Andrew Bradford, who without considering or knowing its tendency, printed it as he did other Papers in his Mercury. His ignorance therefore, gave some Abatement to the Prosecution; he was however committed, and then Bound over to the Court."

The matter seems to have ended here. At least in the next issue of the Mercury, Bradford makes no apology save that he thought the remarks prefaced to the article complained of had been sufficiently clear to prevent any misunderstanding. Following this, comes another article in a tone much like that of the preceding one and prefaced by the statement that it had been set in type before the action taken by the Lieutenant

Governor Gordon, and the Council, and that he, Bradford, saw no reason to make any alteration in it before sending it out to the public. It is probably owing to Andrew Bradford's well recognized prominence in the community and his reputation for sobriety of speech and uprightness of character that the matter was suffered to drop. But from this time it is easy to discern that the press in Pennsylvania had greatly lost its dread of government supervision and from time to time criticized without any reproof, the action of those in office, in a way and with language which a few years earlier would have subjected the printer and the writer alike to most unpleasant consequences.

In 1758 Wm. Moore, then President of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Chester, became involved in a dispute with the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania and Moore presented an Address to the Governor which was afterwards translated into German and published in a German newspaper in Philadelphia under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Wm. Smith, son-in-law of Judge Moore and at that time Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>10</sup> This Address the Assembly decided to be a libel and ordered the arrest of Moore and Smith. Moore was imprisoned for writing the Address, and Smith (although it was shown that it had been published in the two English papers printed in Philadelphia and that no objection had been made by the Assembly), was ordered imprisoned for translating it into German and causing it to be published.

On being informed that he could escape imprisonment by making an apology, he replied, "that he thought it was his duty to keep the Dutch press as free as any other press in the Province; and, as he was conscious of no offense against the House, his lips should never give his heart the lie; there being no punishment, which they could inflict, half so terrible to him as the thought of forfeiting his veracity and good name with the world."<sup>11</sup>

He afterwards went in the same year (1758) to England, to appeal before the Privy Council and was successful in his suit.

Wm. Bradford, grandson of the Wm. Bradford who had set up the first printing press in Pennsylvania, and nephew of Andrew Bradford, began in Philadelphia in 1742 the publication of a newspaper called "The

<sup>10</sup> Penn. Mag. of Hist. Vol. IV, p. 373, Art. on Rev. Wm. Smith, D. D.; also Horace Wemyss Smith, "Life and Correspondence of the Revd. Wm. Smith, D. D., Vol. I."

<sup>11</sup> American Magazine, Jan. 1758. Journal of House of Assembly of Pennsylvania for 1757 and 1758.

Pennsylvania Journal," in which he advocated in a style gradually increasing in intensity and clearness of statement the rights of the colonies as opposed to Great Britain. The subject of the liberty of the press would naturally be of importance to a member of the Bradford family, and in the issues of Sept. 1766 Bradford engaged in a controversy which gave him an opportunity to express his views. The Journal of Sept. 4, published a number of letters from John Hughes (a member of the Legislature and also lately appointed by the King to collect the stamp-tax), to the Commissioners of the Stamp Office, which placed Hughes in a very unfavorable light before his fellow countrymen. Hughes declared these letters to be forgeries and brought an action against the publishers, Wm. Bradford and his son Thomas. When it came to the point Hughes dropped the case, but it furnished the Bradfords with an opportunity which they did not fail to take advantage of. Speaking of the action, in their issue of Sept. 11th, 1776, they say it is but a "fresh instance of his (Hughes) regard to the liberties of his fellow-subjects, in his impotent, but ill natured attempt against the Liberty of the Press." . . .

They proceed to say:—"His suing the printers of the Pennsylvania Journal, for printing an exact copy of his own letters, is no more than an ill-judged effect of that insatiable passion, which he has, to trample upon the most sacred rights and privileges of British subjects in America. The letters themselves, which are but the history of his own conduct for a considerable time past, plainly discover how heartily and passionately he wished for the favourable opportunity which would put it into the power of this excellent patriot, to execute the detestable STAMP ACT, which no American can mention without abhorrence, and to reduce the free-born sons of Britain to a most wretched state of slavery. What else can be the meaning of his barefaced Falsehood, in representing North America in a state of absolute rebellion against the best of Kings, and in using all his feeble endeavors to excite his Majesty and his ministers to send over an armed force to quell us, as he modestly terms it? But such is his insensibility to all the dictates of Honour or Publick Virtue, that to compleat his character he would now attempt to demolish the Liberty of the Press, that invaluable privilege of a free people; because through that channel his hidden arts are brought to light.

'Tis but a piece of justice to the public, to let them know his last effort to prop his sinking character, which has long labored under violent suspicions. He procured a writ for the printers of his letters, on Saturday last, which was executed by the Sheriff on Monday morning follow-

ing; as twelve hundred pounds damages were marked upon the writ, the printers sent him a notice about twelve o'clock, to appear before a Magistrate to shew cause of action; but he refused to appear. At 4 o'clock the same afternoon they sent him another notice, to appear for the same purpose at 10 o'clock the next day, and informed him, that unless he appeared, they would move for a discharge from the arrest. But such was the consciousness of his guilt, that he refused again to appear, and as he could not be compelled by law to shew cause of action, the arrest was accordingly discharged. We are only the printers of a free and impartial paper, and we challenge Mr. Hughes and the world, to convict us of partiality in this respect, or of even an inclination to restrain the freedom of the press in any instance. We can appeal to North-America not only for our impartiality as printers, but also for the very great advantages derived by us very lately from the unrestrained liberty, which every Britain claims of communicating his sentiments to the public thro' the channel of the press. What would have become of the liberties of the British in North-America, if Mr. Hughes calls on Great Britain had been heard, to restrain the printers here from publishing what he is pleased to stile inflammatory pieces, and if every prostitute scribbler, and enemy to his country, had been suffered without control from the pens of true patriots, to rack their distempered brains, to find out arguments to gull a free-born people into a tame submission to perpetual slavery, and to impose their flimsy cobwebs upon us, instead of solid and substantial reasoning? To the freedom of the press in America, we may in a great measure attribute the continuance of those inherent and constitutional privileges, which we yet enjoy and which every Briton, who is not enslaved to private or party interests prefers to his life. We cannot therefore doubt, but that the happiness, which now reigns through all the British plantations, will inspire every friend of his country with an honest and generous indignation against the wretch that would attempt to enslave his countrymen by restraints on the press."

With this spirited statement we end the struggle for the Liberty of the Press in Pennsylvania. It is not composed of as many parts as that of Massachusetts, but the attitude assumed by Bradford at the first is continued by his successors, and the press of Pennsylvania ever presented a bold and unyielding front to attacks whether they proceeded from Church or State.

LIVINGSTON ROWE SCHUYLER

NEW YORK CITY

[To be continued.]



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

---

### LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO GEN. GEORGE CLINTON

[The body of the letter is in the writing of Gen. Samuel B. Webb and is franked by him. It is of special interest as relating to the defence of New York.]

HEAD QUARTERS, N. York *26th July 1776*

DEAR SIR

Yours of the 23d Instant is duly Received and am pleased with your timely notice of your Situation, Strength, movements, &c &c and think time is not to be lost or expense regarded in getting yourselves in the best position of Defence, not knowing how soon the Enemy may attempt to pass You. The Fire Rafts you mention are not of the best Construction but probably are the best that can be procured with the dispatch Necessary. Cables and Anchors I should suppose might easily be procured from the vessels which used to be plying up and down the River and are now lying Idle; Salt Petre from the Manufacturers in the Country; as neither are to be had in this place, the necessity of the case will fully Justify your taking the former wherever to be found, and the safety of the people I should imagine would induce them to assist You to the latter all in their power.

I have sent up Lieut. Machine <sup>1</sup> to lay out & oversee such works as shall be tho't necessary by the Officers there, and from your representation of the Hill, which over looks the Fort, I think it ought to be taken position of immediately. You who are on the spot must be a better Judge than I possibly can, must leave it with You to erect such Works as you, with Col' Clinton and the Engineer may think necessary. . . . Your dismissing all the New Englandmen to 300 is a step I approve of . . . I hope you may continue to prevent the Enemy from obtain-

<sup>1</sup> This was Capt. Thomas Machin, the engineer who, Lossing says, assisted in constructing the works at Yorktown, but I can find no biography of him.—Ed.

ing any supplies or Intelligence, and from committing any ravages on the distres'd Peasantry on & about the shores, . . . while you are able to keep them in this Situation below the Forts they can do little Damage—by every conveyance I shall like to hear of your Situation and the Enemies Manoevers.

I am Sir wishing You Success—Your

Most Hum Servt.

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON,

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN JAMES DUNCAN, 2D CANADIAN REGIMENT,  
(HAZEN'S)

[This is addressed "To Major John Clark" (2d Battalion Penn'a Flying Camp), and dated at Preakness, N. J., July 28, 1780. Preakness was Wayne's headquarters, and this date was just a week after Wayne's unsuccessful attack on the blockhouse at Bull's Ferry, which Major Andre described in the "*Cow Chase*."] ]

It is just now currently reported that Admiral Greaves with his Fleet and a number of Transports have sailed from N. York. They were seen a few days ago & from the course they stood, it is thought their intentions are for Rhode Island. Some think they design to attack the first division of the French before the Second can arrive; others say they are already come, and Bett twenty to one they'll take a Scotch prize; for my own part I must confess I can't see so far into futurity as to prognosticate any thing about the matter; (however) this much is certain that in consequence of the Enemy's movement, the Troops at this Post except the Jersey line are ordered to march Tomorrow at 3 o'clock, the Rout(e) I know not—I have just return'd from the Enemy's Lines, much fatigued, not a copper of money these 8 months, discon(ten)ted in mind and consequently with the whole world. Injured by my country, destitute of money & consequently Friends,<sup>1</sup> neglected by the only parent left me, thrown naked on an unrelenting world; believe me I am so distracted I could wish the whole world in Flames and chearfully expire in the general conflagration.

I am, Sir, in haste,

Yours, &c.,

JAMES DUNCAN.

<sup>1</sup> The half-pay promised by Congress to these heroes was never paid—truly Republics are ungrateful.

## AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF ANDREW JACKSON

[Referring to the deaths of Jefferson and John Adams. It would seem to express some amelioration in the duelling disposition of its author.]

NASHVILLE, July, 1826.

DEAR CALL.

I am glad to learn that the difficulty between you & White is adjusted.

You cannot have forgotten the advice I give to all my young friends, that is—to say, as they pass through life have *apparent confidence in all, real confidence* in none, until from actual experience it is found that the individual is worthy of it—from this rule I have never departed—but still in one or two instances only, have I misplaced confidence. Rest assured I am not easily taken in of late by politicians. I well know many of them stir with the currents, run with the hare, and cry with the hounds. When I have found men mere politicians, bending to the popular breeze and changing with it, for the self popularity, I have ever shunned them, believing that such were unworthy of my confidence—but *still* treat them with hospitality and politeness. I have been led here to make arrangements for paying the last respect due to the memory & manes of the sage of Monticello, the Father of Liberty, the patron of science, and the author of our declaration of Independence, who had the boldness by that instrument to declare to the despots of Europe in 1776, that we of right ought to be free, that all well organized governments are founded on the will of the people—established for their happiness and prosperity—This virtuous Patriot, Thos Jefferson is no more—he died on the 4th of July 10 minutes before one P. M. On yesterday when we met to make arrangements for this melancholy occasion the mail brought us the sad intelligence that another of the signers of the declaration of Independence was no more, that John Adams had departed this life also on the 4th of July at 6 o'clock P. M. Was well in the morning, heard the celebration, sickened at noon and died at 6 o'clock P. M. of the 4th inst. What a wonderful coincidence that the author and two signers of the declaration of Independence, two of the Ex-Presidents, should on the same day expire, a half a Century after that, that gave birth to a nation of freemen, and that Thos. Jefferson should have died the very hour of the day that the declaration of Independence was presented to and read in the Congress of 1776. Is this an omen that Divinity

approved the whole course of Mr. Jefferson and sent an angel down to take him from the earthly Tabernacle on this national Jubilee, at the same moment he had presented it to Congress—and is the death of Mr. Adams a confirmation of the approbation of Divinity also, or is it an omen that his political example as President and adopted by his son, shall destroy this holy fabric created by the virtuous Jefferson?

Your friend,

ANDREW JACKSON.

R. K. CALL.

---

## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION will be held in the Court House at Lake George, New York, August 22d and 23d, 1905. Two sessions will be held each day; the morning of the 22d will be devoted to business sessions of the Association and of the Board of Trustees. The afternoon will be devoted to the consideration of Sullivan's Campaign and six papers will be presented:

The Primary Causes of the Border Wars, by Francis W. Halsey, of New York City.

The Organization of Sullivan's Expedition, by Sherman Williams, Ph. D., of Glens Falls.

The Character of General Sullivan, by W. C. Sebring, M. D., of Kingston.

A Bibliography of Sullivan's Indian Expedition, by Grenville M. Ingalsbe, LL. B., of Sandy Hill.

The Campaign, by William Wait, of Kinderhook.

An Indian Civilization and its Destruction, by Col. S. P. Moulthrop, of Rochester.

On Wednesday morning Hon. D. S. Alexander, of Buffalo, will read a paper upon "Robert R. Livingston, the author of the Louisiana Purchase," and the remainder of the session will be devoted to miscellaneous papers and unpublished documents and discussions. In the afternoon, Dr. Charles A. Ingraham, of Cambridge, will present a paper upon "The Birth, at Moreau, of the Temperance Reformation," and this will be followed by the annual address, "The Democratic Ideal in History," by Hon. Milton Reed, of Fall River, Mass.

## MINOR TOPICS

---

### TWO HISTORIC NAMES.

There may be "nothing in signs," but there are at least two of the everyday street kind in New York which, by reason of their location and the names they bear, remind one of a most stirring chapter in American history. Both are to be found in Spring-st. In one corner of a restaurant window at No. 242 appears the sign of a jeweller, bearing the name of Aaron Burr. High up on the building across the street at No. 247 appears a weather-beaten sign on which is the inscription: "A. Hamilton, carpenter and builder."

What makes their proximity still more interesting is the fact that the

entrance to Aaron Burr's country place, Richmond Hill, was, years ago, just about where the intersection of Spring and Macdougall sts. is now, a short distance from the signs still bearing the two historic names. Burr is said to have passed out of this gate on that fatal morning when he went to Weehawken Heights to fight his memorable duel with Hamilton.

The ultra-sentimental may see something indicative of the lives of Hamilton and Burr in the fact that the sign bearing the half effaced name of the former is rapidly falling to decay, while that bearing the name of his mortal enemy is as aggressive as paint can make it—*New York Tribune*.

---

## GENEALOGICAL

---

17. a. BARTLETT—Marblehead records say that Abijah B. Bartlett married Elizabeth Bartlett, Sept. 16, 1792, and that the husband died in the hospital in New York, June 13, 1813. Bentley's records of Salem, speak of this family as living on Union street, Salem, and of the death of their daughter, Abigail, July 13, 1816. Wanted, some account

of the ancestry of this branch of the Bartlett family, or some suggestion as to where to look for it. S 5.

18. a. WOOD—Who were the parents of Eunice Wood, of Templeton, who married Stiles Stickney, of Whitingham, Vt., June 22, 1803 and died June 15, 1840.

*b. PEASE*—Wanted, the parentage of Hannah Pease, of Cambridge, Mass., who married Deacon William Brown, of Waltham and Watertown, Jan. 10, 1704-5. She died Mar. 10, 1717-18.

*c. ADAMS*—Who were the parents of Abigail Adams, of Lexington, Mass.? She married Ebenezer Brown, of Waltham, Mass., May 30, 1727 and died Dec. 26, 1784, aged 85. S 1.

19. *a. CHAMBERLAIN*—Wanted, the evidence upon which James Savage makes the statement that the charge against Rebecca, the wife of William Chamberlain, who died at the prison in Cambridge, Mass., on Sept. 26, 1692, was a charge of witchcraft?

*b. CHAMBERLAIN*—Wanted, the ancestry of Experience, who married before 1692, Jacob Chamberlain, then of Medford, Mass. She died at Newton, Mass., May 23 or 24, 1749, aged 83 years, 2 months, 2 days, which indicates that she was born in 1666.

*c. HORNE*—Wanted, the ancestry of Margaret, who married about 1725, William Horne, of Dover, N. H. He b. at Dover, Nov. 7, 1702.

*d. PARKER*—Is there any proof that Sarah, the wife of Jacob Parker, of Woburn and of Chelmsford, Mass., was a sister to Edmund and William Chamberlain, of Woburn, in 1650?

*e. TURNER*—Wanted, the ancestry of Mary Turner, who m. at Roxbury, Mass., Jan. 4, 1646-7, Edmund Chamberlain. Savage says perhaps she was a sister of John Turner, of Roxbury, before 1650. Any facts bearing on this question desired. C 1.

20. *a. PERKINS*—Dorothy Perkins was married to Samuel Stearns in Middleton, Mass., Jan. 3, 1739; who was she?

*b. HUGGINS*—Nathaniel Huggins, born in Hampton, N. H., in 1660, married, first, Judith ———; who was she? In 1721, Judith Huggins, wife of Nathaniel Huggins, was admitted to the church of Greenland, N. H.

*c. HOW*—Margaret, wife of Edward How, of Boston, died July 23, 1776, aged 29. Who was she?

*d. GRIDLEY*—John and Joanna Gridley became members of the Old South Church, Boston, in 1722. Their son James was baptized Feb. 3, 1723; son Josiah in Oct., 1725. Whose daughter was Mrs. Joanna Gridley? When did she die?

*e. ESTABROOK*—John Gridley (above), and Ruth Eastabrook, married in Boston by the Rev. Samuel Checkley, Aug. 9, 1733.

The Estabrook Genealogy gives no record of Ruth, the second wife of John Gridley. Was she not the "Widow Ruth" who, in Boston, Nov. 16, 1730, was appointed administratrix of the estate of "Benjamin Estabrook, mariner, deceased," and whose two children, Abigail, born in 1722, and Benjamin, born in 1728 [Estabrook Genealogy], had died in infancy?

*f. EMMONS*—The marriage intentions of "Benjamin Eastbrooke, Boston, and Ruth Emmans, of Greenland, N. H.," were filed in Boston, June 6, 1721.

In 1721, Ruth Emmons was a member of the church in Greenland, N. H., being the only Emmons whose name appears in the early records of that church

as printed in the *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, vols. 28 and 29. Where and when was she born, and who were her parents?

The following notes appear to give some clue to her identity: Judith Hubbard, daughter of Richard, was born in Salisbury, Mass., in 1679; became a member of the 1st church in Boston, 1697; was married in Boston, Nov. 17, 1699, to Obadiah Emmons. "Mary Emmons, daughter of Obadiah and Judah (sic) bapt. 1st church, Sept. 7, 1700; Ruth, "daughter of Sister Emmons," bapt., Apr. 12, 1702.

It seems probable that "Sister Emmons," the mother of Ruth, was Mrs. Judith (Hubbard) Emmons, who may have been a widow at the time of the birth of Ruth. Wanted, date of death of Obadiah Emmons and of his wife Judith. Did they, or either one of them, remove to Greenland, N. H.? Did they have any children beside Mary and Ruth (if Ruth was their child)?

g. PARROTT—Judith, eldest daughter of John and Ruth Gridley, was bapt. at the New South Church, Boston, in October, 1735. She married Enoch Greenleaf in 1760 and died in Weston, in 1802; Enoch Greenleaf died in 1805. They left no children. In the records of the settlement of the estate of Enoch Greenleaf, late of Weston, deceased, mention is made of Mrs. Martha Parrott, widow, of Greenleaf, N. H., who was probably a kinswoman of Mr. or Mrs. Greenleaf. Wanted, names of her parents and of her deceased hus-

band, also date of her death, and her age.

Was she the mother of Hon. John F. Parrott, senator, born in Greenland, N. H., in 1768, died in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1836, and of Enoch Parrott, who married Susanna Parker, and was father of Enoch Greenleaf Parrott, a distinguished naval officer born in 1815? [*N. Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, vol. 54, p. 388.]

It may be noted that John and Ruth Gridley had a daughter Martha, bapt. in 1736, but not mentioned with Judith in her father's will in 1762, the presumption being that she was not then living. No record of her death or marriage has been found.

h. ESTABROOK—Benjamin Estabrook who married Ruth Emmons, was without doubt, the elder son of Rev. Benjamin Estabrook, of Lexington, and his wife Abigail, daughter of Rev. Samuel Willard, of the Old South Church, Boston. Mrs. Abigail Estabrook, by the death of her husband in 1697, was left a widow with two sons, Benjamin and Richard. In 1700, she became the second wife of Rev. Samuel Treat, of Eastham, by whom she had two children: a son, Robert, and a daughter, Eunice, who married Rev. Thomas Paine and was the mother of Robert Treat Paine, signer of the Declaration of Independence. Where and by whom were her Estabrook sons brought up? On Oct. 2, 1721, Abigail Treat was appointed administratrix of the estate of her son Richard Estabrook, brazier, late of Boston.

## THE FIRST REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH OF SCHENECTADY, N. Y.

The 225th anniversary of this venerable organization was celebrated June 11th and 12th. The exact date of its foundation is unknown, as the earliest records are of 1680, but as Arendt Van Corlaer, at the head of a party of fifteen Hollanders, settled within the palisaded fort on the south side of the Mohawk in 1662, it is probable that the church was organized in that year. The anniversary was observed in connection with the 109th Commencement of Union College, which owes its charter to the exertions of Rev. Dirck Romeyn, who was pastor of the church

in 1795. For many years it was the custom for students to attend the church services in a body, and about 150 ministers of the Reformed Church are Union graduates. Rev. William Elliot Griffis, a former pastor, delivered an historical address of great ability, and a commemorative ode, written by Rev. Dr. C. S. Vedder, pastor of the Church of the Huguenots, Charleston, was read. An historical exhibition of relics, and old documents connected with the church, was held during three days, and was very largely attended.





## ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC

By the late JOHN CODMAN, 2D

Extra-Illustrated Edition. Two Maps, and Notes. Edited by William Abbatt.

200 copies at \$7.50 net. Cloth, gilt top.

50 copies on hand-made paper. Boards, gilt top. \$15.00.

Postage, 30 cents extra on each.

Among the historical books of 1901, I know none more interesting or valuable than Mr. CODMAN'S, and it is greatly to be regretted that he did not live to witness its deserved success.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (author of *The Crisis*) says: "This book richly deserves the prominent notice given it (by a leading literary journal). It revives a most important and glorious episode in the history of this country, and every American will be the better for reading of the heroic struggles of Arnold's men across the wilderness. It is a book which seems essential to every library."

But the author failed to fully recognize his opportunity for illustrating the story, giving portraits of only four of the twenty or more officers of the expedition.

In my edition I insert *thirteen additional portraits, several of which have never appeared before, and nine other illustrations.*

The biographical notices of the original have been extended wherever possible. These various improvements add much value to the original work, not only to the bibliophile but to the general reader.

The expedition to Quebec, through the trackless wilderness of Maine, is easily the most dramatic episode of the Revolution. It was led by one who was destined to a brilliant career as a soldier, and a disgraceful end as a traitor to his country. But for two events it would have been completely successful, and the whole history of our Revolution changed thereby—the territory of the original thirteen Colonies being augmented by the vast domain now comprehended under the general name of British America, and our country thus extending from the shores of the Arctic Ocean to the Rio Grande.

These two incidents were, first: the month-late start of the expedition, because of which the terrible flood in the Dead River, with the resultant hardships, was encountered by those whom one of their number, many years later, justly termed "that band of Heroes"—and, second: the wound which disabled Arnold himself when, during the desperate attack on Quebec, his inspiring presence and wonderful leadership were most needed by his men.

Mr. Codman's book is the only modern account of this important "prologue of the Revolution," as it has been styled by another author. No full understanding of the importance of Arnold's enterprise and the heroism of his men is possible without having read it. Its terse diction and graphic style make it most interesting reading, and the numerous illustrations (most of them made expressly for it) add greatly to its value.

Sample pages will be sent free on request. Address the MAGAZINE of HISTORY, 281 Fourth Ave., N. Y.



# A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

## PLATES OF AUDUBON'S BIRDS

Life Size

The Folio Edition (1834)

Sold Separately

OVER 200 DIFFERENT SUBJECTS  
ALL BEAUTIFULLY COLORED

Sheets are 25x40, Clean as New  
Price, from \$5.00 to 25.00 Each

Such a chance as this very seldom occurs,  
as there are very few plates to be found  
outside of the bound volumes. : : : :

### THE SUBJECTS INCLUDE

Eagles, Hawks, Owls, Cranes, Wild Geese, Gulls,  
Terns, Sandpipers, Orioles, Finches, etc., etc.

Few Libraries can afford a set of  
Audubon's Works, folio size, but this offer  
gives each an opportunity to secure a choice  
of beautiful plates, which, when framed, will  
prove a great ornament to any room. : : :

N. B.—Name Your Choice and Price Will be Quoted

ADDRESS

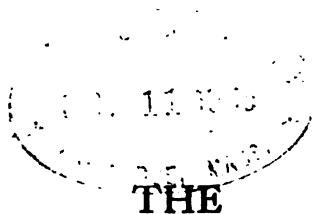
*The Magazine of History*

281 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

**VOL. II**

**No. 2**



# **MAGAZINE OF HISTORY**

**WITH**

## **NOTES AND QUERIES**

**AUGUST 1905**

**WILLIAM ABBATT**

**281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**Published Monthly**

**\$5.00 a Year**

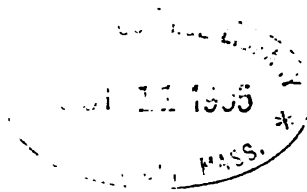
**50 Cents a Number**







MAJOR ANDRE'S PRISON, TAPPAN, N. Y.  
(As "restored," 1899.)



# THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

---

VOL. II

AUGUST, 1905

No. 2

---

## IN THE ANDRE COUNTRY

**I**F there be any one personage of our Revolution about whom every reader might be supposed to be well-informed, it is certainly Major André, the unfortunate spy whose fate "drew tears from many eyes," in General Heath's words; and of whom Washington said, "He was more unfortunate than criminal." As a matter of fact, however, I have met a number of intelligent and educated Americans whose ideas about him were exceedingly hazy; while the constant references to him, in print, are full of blunders. The grossest of these, so far as I personally know, appeared a few years ago, in a guide-book issued by the West Shore Railroad Company. This road passes through Tappan, where he was executed; and the sapient editor of the booklet informed his readers that "here the unfortunate André met his death—being, *contrary to the general belief*" (the italics are mine) "not hanged, but shot." Such is American history, "as she is wrote" by a railroad scribe in the last years of the nineteenth century.

If there is lack of knowledge about André himself, there is next to no knowledge about him as connected with the region on either side of the Hudson with which his story is identified. The popular information is generally confined to the knowledge that he was arrested at Tarrytown and executed at Tappan; though for one who has seen the monument at the latter place, there are probably a thousand who have seen that erected at Tarrytown. Few but historical students know that his story really covers a wide territory, extending from Dobbs Ferry on the south to West Point on the north, and from a spot a few miles west of Haverstraw to one almost on the Connecticut line, on the east. Roughly speaking this means a region twenty-five miles square, within which limits he remained for eleven days. During this time he travelled not less than a hundred and twenty-five miles, most of them after he was captured at Tarrytown. These details may help readers to realize the



extent of the tract which I call the André Country, since his is the most important figure connected with it. It includes parts of the counties of Rockland (then part of Orange), Westchester, Putnam and the present Orange. Within these limits remain nine houses identified with his story, the authenticated ruins of five others, and the known sites of two more. There is also the ruined Fort Putnam, at West Point (where he was confined over night), and several other points of interest, including the monuments at Tarrytown and Tappan.

In August of 1904, a friend whose grandmother, as a child, figured in the story of André, suggested to me that a carriage trip, following the whole of André's route, would make a very interesting journey for himself and his wife, if I would accompany them as guide. Certain that it would be equally interesting to me, I was glad to avail myself of the opportunity. We spent five days in constant travel, and would have spent six, had we visited West Point. We began on Monday, at Haverstraw, where André landed from the *Vulture* at about midnight of September 21, 1780, to meet Arnold. The exact spot is about two and a half miles south of the center of Haverstraw, at a point midway between the old disused "Clove Road" and the water's edge, in the center of a thickly wooded hillside, which was then probably much as it is now. Joshua Hett Smith, in his famous "*Narrative of the causes which led to the death of Major André*," says, "Arnold was hid in a clump of firs." Near as is the spot to the town of Haverstraw, it is very seldom visited, and I believe Mr. Lavalette Wilson, who kindly escorted us, is the only citizen really familiar with it. It should be marked with a suitably inscribed boulder; for the event of that night is second to none of our Revolution in its importance. Returning to Haverstraw, after dining with friends, we drove to Stony Point, where I had arranged for a row-boat, that we might be taken over the Hudson to Verplanck's Point, as were André and Smith, on his way back—as he hoped—to the British lines. At a point about a mile and a half from Haverstraw station, we stopped to see one of the most interesting places of our journey—the old house of Joshua Hett Smith, on what is locally called Treason Hill. Here Arnold left André, who at five o'clock that afternoon left with Smith, both being mounted, for King's Ferry, just north of Stony Point. Save for a modern piazza, the building remains as it was then, and from the windows of André's room in the second story, we saw the same magnificent view of the Hudson that he did—minus the smoke from James (not Henry) Livingston's cannon, firing on the *Vulture*; the first of the several incidents which eventually caused André's capture. The

interest of Stony Point detained us awhile, when we descended the steep hill by a romantic path, to the site of King's Ferry, the main passage over the Hudson during the Revolution. Here at the water's edge stand some great willow trees, marking the exact site of the ferry landing. Our party embarked and the veteran oarsman (he owned to seventy-four) rowed us over the river, which, under the influence of a strong south wind, was as rough as one at least of the party desires any water to be whilst he is on it in a small boat. At Verplanck's Point—an uninteresting decaying settlement—since my visit of several years ago a trolley line has been built, which enabled us to make a quick trip to Peekskill, where we passed the night of Monday.

On Tuesday we made an early start, for we had a long journey to accomplish, eastward to Yorktown and then south to Tarrytown, more than thirty miles by winding roads. A good team, good roads and a beautiful morning combined to promise a day of enjoyment; as it proved to be. The "Crompond road" which we followed almost all the way east to Yorktown, is the one traversed by André, and his first obstacle was Captain Ebenezer Boyd, of the Westchester militia, whose vigilance forced him to stop for the night at the house of one Miller. Only the cellar remains, and only an antiquarian would be likely to find it. Less than a mile further is the place where in the gray of the next morning he was stopped—this time by Major Foote. The place was Strang's Tavern, which has disappeared, but the small building used as the Major's quarters remains. Allowed to pass, after Arnold's pass to "Mr. John Anderson" had been examined, his next stop—and ours—was at the place where his companion parted from him. This is the Underhill house, where he had a scanty breakfast. It is in Yorktown, and kept in good repair. Here we dined and fed our team, and afterward went a little aside from our proper course, to see the Davenport house, where in 1780 Colonel Christopher Greene and Major Flagg and the guard of negro troops (a Rhode Island regiment) were surprised and massacred by De Lancey's Tories. It is in a most out-of-the-way region, and worth visiting, although so much modernized as to lose much of its historic interest. We then descended the steepest hill, by the road with the sharpest corners that I have ever had the misfortune to see; and why our journey did not end then and there by a serious accident is a wonder. Thankful to have reached the excellent "State Road," we then crossed the present Pine's Bridge half a mile from that which André crossed after he parted from Smith and had started for White Plains. On the south bank of the Croton River an error of roads lost us a mile

before we reached the next point of interest, the Thorne house in the town of New Castle, at the corner of "Kipp Street" and the Hardscrabble Road (what expressive names some of these country roads do have). None would think this well-kept dwelling, with its modern boarding and cornice, to be really more than a century and a quarter old—yet here André stopped, asked his way and got the information from Jesse Thorne, a Quaker lad of twelve, who long remembered the "very genteel and intelligent gentleman, riding a brown horse with one white foot and a white star." The scenery of our journey so far, had been of a quiet country, hills and dales, with well kept fields, all suggestive of profitable farming. Now it became more wooded and hilly, affording frequent charming views. A novel feature was a number of deserted houses, some falling into decay, others comparatively modern. It was hard to realize we were so near a town of the size of Peekskill, and within forty miles of the city of New York. The durability of some of these old buildings is surprising; through the window of one, around which still bloomed a number of old-fashioned flowers, in what was once a good-sized garden, I saw lying on the floor of the parlor an old almanac, on the cover of which I could see the fat black figures "1850." If that were the last year of human occupancy, there was then living at least one man, Pierre Besançon, one of Lafayette's soldiers, who had seen the execution of André.

The ascent of Hardscrabble Hill culminates on Sarles Hill, more than seven hundred feet above sea level, and directly east of Sing Sing. Nearby, eastward, is Chappaqua, where Horace Greeley lived, wrote about farming and gave agricultural lectures to his neighbors. The scenery all about is very attractive, needing only a watercourse of fair size to be beautiful. The road now descends sharply to André's next stopping place, the house then occupied by Sylvanus Brundage, a soldier of the Westchester militia. It is within the limits of the town of Pleasantville, and I believe is still occupied by his descendants. Here the fugitive stopped, exchanged a few words with Brundage himself, and then watered his horse at the spring beside the road opposite the dwelling. Riding on southwestward, he came to Mekeel's Corners, and the "old Bedford road." Turning to the left, at a spot a mile further where is now Floyd Powell's house, then Staats Hammond's, he rode up to the well, and was handed a bowl of water by Sally Hammond, twelve years old. Giving her sixpence, he asked her brother David the way to Tarrytown. Disconcerted to hear that a party of American scouts was at

Young's Tavern a mile below, he went back to Mekeel's and thence to Tarrytown—the boy's information being thus the immediate cause of his capture. We reached Tarrytown quite late, after a rather fatiguing but most interesting day, and spent our second night there. Wednesday morning we made the mistake of starting rather late, and also first visiting the old Sleepy Hollow church, with its memories of Ichabod Crane and the Headless Horseman. This was to cost us dear later in the day. We took the same road as that of Paulding and his squad, after they had captured André, eastward alongside the reservoir which supplies Tarrytown, and made our first stop at the building then called Reed's Tavern, but now known as the Landrine house, close beside the road, and still inhabited. The old box stairway, on the lowest step of which the captive sat while eating a little breakfast, still exists, and as the building is now part of the property of John D. Rockefeller, it is probable that it will remain undisturbed. We went north on the road past the County buildings, and to the commonplace-named, but very pretty, Brown's Pond, not more than a mile from the Hammond house where we had been the previous afternoon, and at the next corner—Clark's Corner—turned east for a long drive, which proved to be like the line of the song, "over the hills and far away." When it was not up hill it was down, as though the country had once been a rolling sea, and been solidified before the waves had time to become calm. This extends in an almost straight line to Reynolds Hill, whence an extensive landscape unfolds with a really beautiful view of Kensico Lake, now one of the feeders of the New York City water system. Over this road André was taken, at what must have been a very slow pace, since he alone was mounted, his captors walking on either side his horse, which one of them led by the bridle. Stopping awhile at the "Foshay house" (which is one of those not now standing), they went next to John Wright's at Kensico Village, at the north end of the lake. (Kensico station, and some smaller Kensicos, are at the south end, some two miles away). Wright's was the headquarters of Lieutenant Colonel Jameson, or had been, for they found him removed six miles away, to Sands' Mills, in the town of North Castle. We dined at a hotel which seems placed near the head of the lake for the especial benefit of such cross-country travellers as we were, and here the stableman managed to break the pole of our carriage; an accident, which, together with our late start from Tarrytown, was destined to make our arrival at Bedford, our next stage, very late, but also to afford us the only romantic incident of our trip. Taking a one-horse vehicle—the only available—for the rest of the day, we sent back our Tarrytown equipage,

and began our ride towards Bedford, " twelve miles at least," and more as we found ere we reached it. On the way, we visited the Wright house, which has lost all its venerable appearance through a new board exterior and an hour afterward passed through Armonk, a decaying little place, where at its northern end, is the hamlet of Sands' Mills. When I was there some years previously, the old building was standing where Jameson had his quarters, and André was confined, and where he was to meet later in the day Major Tallmadge the officer of Sheldon's regiment whose name is so intimately connected with his story; but since that time it has been destroyed, and nothing but the foundation remains of a building which should have been carefully preserved as a most interesting relic of our Revolution. Passing it, we went north towards Bedford, by the same circuitous route as his guard took with him (after he had been returned from near West Point, to reach which he traversed much the same road as that we had followed, but from Pine's Bridge north to Peekskill, instead of south as we had come). At a point just over the border of the town of Bedford, the road turns and extends first east and then south for a long distance, to get around the south end of Byram Lake. By this time the afternoon was waning, and the cross-road began to get narrower and narrower, until I feared lest it follow the example of the Western one which became a squirrel track and climbed a tree. I knew I was right, but I had not been over that particular road before, and the surly driver (the only such we had during our whole journey) did not agree with me. The way was decidedly lonely—there was not a building in sight—and the road was through the woods and evidently very little travelled, so that the boughs on either side brushed the carriage. Finally we came to a fork in the road, not shown on my map. The driver and I got out to decide which was the right one to follow, and after walking over mine for some distance I decided *it* was the one, while he was as sure his was the only one to reach Bedford (although neither of us had ever been over it). I yielded, and was sorry for it—for it turned out a " wood-road," very narrow, crooked and boggy. A mile or more of it in the darkness brought us out—somewhere; and at last we reached our destination by moonlight, two hours late, all of us grumpy and tired and disappointed at having seen nothing of the landscape for a good while.

A good supper, sleep and breakfast and a good two-horse team the next morning, helped to restore our equanimity, and we continued our journey towards South Salem. (Bedford has no important connection

with André, as he only passed through it on his way to South Salem, where was Colonel Sheldon's headquarters, and to which, as the story runs, Tallmadge insisted he should be sent for safe keeping, until Washington could be heard from.) From Bedford to Cross River, and thence east to Boutonville in the northeastern corner of the town of Pound Ridge, and thence to South Salem, is a delightful trip. Following André's route all the way, we reached South Salem at noon, unfortunately for us, for there is no hotel there, and as in the rural districts of Westchester County every one dines at twelve, if you do not reach the hotel then, you are likely to go hungry until supper time. At South Salem the old house of 'Squire John Gilbert's was the headquarters of Colonel Sheldon, but was long ago demolished. Its site is pointed out to the traveller, but South Salem has no other historical interest. From thence André was taken, when Washington's orders arrived, north and west, around the west end of Lake Waccabuc and north to the present Salem Center, under a strong guard of the dragoons, of which Tallmadge had the command. It was while in Gilbert's house that André revealed his real name and rank to Lieutenant King, and wrote to Washington the celebrated letter which Hamilton justly says was "conceived in terms of dignity without insolence, and apology without meanness." The road to Salem Centre leads through a very attractive country, and at the top of the ridge to the north of Lake Waccabuc the elevation is nearly a thousand feet, affording a beautiful view of the lake and surrounding country. From the Centre the party changed their route, in accordance with instructions received through a courier from Washington, who met them there. As we drove over the same road, in broad daylight of a beautiful day, I could but remember that the occasion which gave its interest to the spot was a march of one hundred cavalry, on a dark night in the midst of a pouring rain, and at the hour of one o'clock in the morning; as complete a contrast to our own surroundings as could be imagined. The further road follows the north shore of Lake Titicus, now known as Titicus Reservoir (for most of the water hereabouts is destined to supply the thirsty city of New York). The rest of the journey to Croton Falls is not of especial interest. At the Falls we had expected to dine, but arriving at one o'clock, found that the noonday meal hour having passed, nothing could be had to eat. It was with not the most pleasant opinion of rural hotel keepers that we went hungry away from Croton Falls, onwards towards Lake Mahopac. The delightful aspect of the country helped to improve our frame of mind,

and once at Lake Mahopac we were able to obtain a good dinner, and give our team a needed rest; after which we resumed the ride over the route followed by Sheldon's men, to Mahopac Falls. Here my friend was particularly desirous of seeing the ruins of the old frame house which was variously known as the Odell and the Johnson house, and was burnt a few years before. In this house lived Major James Cock, of the Ordnance Department of Washington's army, and here the escort made a short stop, during which their prisoner was allowed to enter the house, where he saw a child in the cradle, asleep. Stooping over, he kissed her, and remarked on the happy innocence of childhood. She lived to be an old lady, and the grandmother of my friend and companion of the journey. From here the road was eight miles to the hamlet called Van Cortlandville, just north of Peekskill, where is the old church of St. Peter, of which during the period of the Revolution Beverly Robinson, Arnold's probable confidant and Washington's quondam friend, was one of the wardens. André passed here on his journey, and a short distance further west is an old dwelling, known as the Hollman house, at which the escort also stopped and where he was allowed to alight and enter. After this no other stop was made until the present village of Garrisons was reached, and he was delivered into the custody of Washington's immediate guard, at the house so familiar to all readers of our history as the Robinson house, which had been Arnold's headquarters until three days before the events we have considered. It is a distinct loss to our national history that this edifice, replete with the most interesting circumstances of the Revolutionary struggle, should have been accidentally burned several years before our visit, hence we made no attempt to go to Garrisons or to West Point, which was already well known to all of us.

Our stay that night was at Peekskill for the second time. On Friday morning the storm which broke on us the night before, just as we got shelter, had raised such waves on the Hudson as to make it dangerous to attempt crossing by row boat to Jones' Point and take the train there to Haverstraw, as we had planned—and instead we went by rail to Tarrytown, by ferry to Nyack and thence by rail again to Haverstraw, to follow the last part of André's journey.

When André had been kept at West Point over night, he was taken the next morning by boat to King's Ferry, under the personal charge of Major Tallmadge; and the conversation held with him in the boat is familiar history. At King's Ferry a guard of cavalry was waiting, and he was at once taken towards Tappan. The road winds around the

mountains behind Haverstraw, and passes the very house—Smith's—where only a few days before he had been in perfect safety. We found this, our last day of travel, the only one at all disagreeable; and this only because of the dust. At a place now known as Hempstead, behind Long Clove Mountain, is the Presbyterian church, and opposite is the small dwelling which was standing in 1780, and then known as Coe's Tavern. It is now very shabby, part of the rear foundation is fallen out, and unless speedily repaired the building will soon go to ruin. Here the escort stopped for dinner, and André, with the six or seven officers, dined in the room which remains in good condition, at the left of the entrance. It is remarkable in this connection that none of them—except Tallmadge—left any reminiscences of their distinguished companion. After dinner the march was resumed, towards what is now New City, the present county seat, by the road extending almost due east from Coe's. If it was then, as now, it was extremely picturesque, being bordered by woodland for a long distance, and crossing some pretty brooks, which make a charmingly diversified landscape. The stranger who visits the interior of Rockland county will be impressed by the exceedingly quiet and secluded aspect it presents. Although traversed by three railroads it is difficult to realize one is so near crowded cities and the great highway of the Hudson river, and the modern settlements on its east bank. The population is still very largely descended from the original Dutch settlers and the patronymics of the Revolution are still common. We went east and south for several miles, crossing the Sparkill amid some very pretty scenery which should be perpetuated on canvas, and arrived at Tappan, our last stage, very dusty. Were this place only on the east instead of the west bank of the Hudson, it would have many visitors; as it is there are but few. The place itself is a sleepy little village, the whole interest of which centers in three sites: Washington's headquarters (which is inhabited, but unfortunately by occupants who refuse to admit visitors), André's prison, and the spot of his execution. The second, when I was here several years ago, was shut up and fast going to ruin; since then it has passed into other hands, and has been restored, very fairly to its original condition, but is kept as a saloon and billiard room. The show part of it is, of course, the two rooms once occupied by André; the front one, his parlor, the back his sleeping room. The first is much as the "best room" of an ordinary rural dwelling is anywhere; the other is now but part of the billiard room. The house is of stone, in good order, and will probably last another century. It is a great pity that the bill before our Legislature last winter, for the acquirement of the property and its preser-



vation as a place of public interest, failed to pass the Legislature (another proof of the indifference of the ordinary citizen to historic matters), but I for one, am thankful to see this most interesting building kept in good condition. From it, by a short walk, we reached the place of execution, half a mile up a slight rise. Here stands the monument erected by Cyrus W. Field, in 1879, with the inscription written by Dean Stanley, beginning: "Here died, October 2, 1780, Major John André, of the British Army, who, entering the American lines on a secret mission to Benedict Arnold," etc. It has been justly criticised for the misleading statement contained in these words. The line from the *Æneid* with which it closes, is, however, well chosen and strictly true. In Conington's translation, it is thus rendered:

E'en here the tear of pity springs  
And hearts are touched by human things.

Aside from the extreme historic interest of the place, the view from and around it is charming. East and north the country is well wooded, yet dotted with small farms. Northeast, across the Hudson, are the Tarrytown Heights and the Captors' monument. Haverstraw, Stony Point, and King's Ferry are a few miles above, and as we stood on the scene of the last act of the tragedy, Dobbs Ferry, where André boarded the *Vulture* to await the expected visit of Arnold, as at first arranged, was in sight. Under these circumstances, remembering all we had seen during our trip, I could but recall Dr. Johnson's words about Marathon, and adapt them to the scene before us: "That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of (Tappan)." The country identified with André is in every way worth visiting. Its various points of interest are all easily accessible by carriage from Peekskill, Tarrytown and Bedford or Mount Kisco; the scenery, while not grand, is usually pretty, often beautiful, and the roads as a rule good at the time when the tourist is abroad. Rockland county, especially, has much that is interesting as a survival of the old Dutch settlements of two hundred and fifty years ago. (It will probably surprise the reader as much as it did me, to be told that within a radius of five miles of Tappan live five hundred people who can speak Dutch, yet who are Americans of a couple of centuries' ancestry.)

On the whole, the two most attractive parts of our journey were probably from Yorktown to Mekeel's Corners, and Bedford to Lake Waccabuc; but this is only by comparison; I shall be glad if this recital of a delightful week leads others to make the same trip.

(Concluded next month.)

## LINZEE'S ATTACK ON GLOUCESTER

**T**HE people who lived and dwelt upon this headland one hundred and thirty years ago must have taken the affair which you this day commemorate to be just a wee bit of sport for them, as no mention of the same can be found upon the records of the town except that it appointed a committee to dispose of the property taken from Captain Linzee on that eventful eighth day of August, seventeen hundred and seventy-five. We must therefore rely upon other sources of information for an account of the contest.

It was in Ipswich Bay near the mouth of the Annisquam River that His Majesty's sloop of war Falcon, commanded by Captain John Linzee, dropped anchor on the fifth day of August, seventeen hundred and seventy-five. So grand and beautiful were the pictures before him, on the one side the blue waters of the bay extending out as far as the eye could reach, and on the other the sand hills of Coffin's beach glistening in the sunlight, that he concluded to tarry for a few days for rest and watch the events which at that time were being rapidly developed. On the eighth day of August, looking out upon the great stretch of water before him he discovered two schooners under sail making for port, and it immediately dawned upon his mind to capture them. If he succeeded it would add glory and luster to his name, and then if he could but present them to the mother country as trophies of a great victory, what splendid additions they would be to the navy of Great Britain. He at once called his men together, gave them orders to man the boats, give chase and capture the vessels at all hazards. This the men proceeded to obey and after a long and exciting chase succeeded in detaining one of the schooners while the other, Yankee-like, slipped from their grasp and came to anchor safe in the harbor of Cape Ann. Captain Linzee did not quite relish this state of things, and so he called Lieutenant Thornborough and directed him to go into the harbor, board the schooner and take her out alongside her sister ship in Ipswich Bay. Thornborough went in but came out a wiser but sadder man. The lieutenant should, however, be given credit for making a desperate effort to take the schooner, for he fell wounded in the attack and was obliged to report to his superior officer that the people on shore positively refused to let him have the vessel.

In this attempt he had confidently expected to carry the flag of his country to victory and win fresh laurels at home, but he met a different class of people in your ancestors than he expected to find, and his flag went down in defeat. Nor did your ancestors stop here. Aided and abetted by the patriotic women of the town they set out to show Captain Linzee of what manner of stuff they were made, and went out into the bay and politely told the captain he could not have the vessel his men had detained and which he thought no doubt was secure in his keeping, for they could not spare her from their business. They consequently took the schooner and left the captain nothing but a severe drubbing.

When the captain became fully awake to the situation and found that his little episode with the men on this cape had cost him the loss of his boats, his master gunner, sixteen seamen and seven marines taken prisoners and his lieutenant wounded, is it any wonder that his mind became crazed and in his delirium he determined to bombard and set fire to the town? He made two attempts to do so both of which were disastrous failures. His reasons for not being able to burn the town were, that the buildings being constructed of wood would not burn! It is more than likely, however, that failure on his part to burn the town resulted from the fact that having lost his master gunner, he had no skilled marksmen left and he was therefore unable to hit anything in sight. We are told that he did succeed in killing Deacon Kinsman's hog. Our answer to that is (if the story be true) that it was evidently the fault of the hog. He did succeed, however, in getting one ball to strike the First church, then standing on Cornhill street, and this was because the building was of considerable size. The ball which entered the church can be seen in the present edifice erected on the site of the old one, now Middle street, a silent and the only effective witness of the attack made by Captain Linzee on a people without a single gun mounted, and but very little ammunition with which to repel invaders.

Disappointed and defeated, his flag lowered by your ancestors, hardy sons of this rock-ribbed coast, who performed wonders on that eighth day of August, he was doubtless glad to weigh anchor and sail from the magnificent scenery which everywhere abounds on this cape, and seek that rest and shelter which would give him ample time to gather his thoughts together and arrive if possible, at some definite conclusion why he failed in his first encounter with American freemen on the shores of Cape Ann, in God's own country, our beloved New England.

On the morning of August 10, 1775, he awoke to find himself

anchored in Nantasket Road, and here it was that he told the story of his conflict with your ancestors to Admiral Graves. As it best relates the incident which is this day uppermost in your minds, I will with your permission give you the contents just as it came to us from London in the year 1900.

4 TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON, W. C., 9 Nov., 1900.

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 27, communicating your desire to ascertain the date of Linzee's attack upon your city in 1775.

The date was August 8, 1775. My vouchers for this statement are Captain John Linzee's letter (copy enclosed) from the sloop *Falcon* of 10 August to Vice-Admiral Graves, reporting his endeavor to capture two schooners and his attempt to set fire to the town of Cape Ann. (Sic). I also enclose a copy of one paragraph, being the only paragraph on the subject in Vice-Admiral Samuel Graves' letter of 17 August, 1775, 8 pages, on various subjects connected with the fleet under his command. In this letter the Admiral says he encloses a copy of the letter from Captain Linzee. In the transcripts herewith, spelling, capitals, abbreviations, punctuations and peculiarities are carefully followed.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) B. F. STEVENS, F. S. A.

R. O. Admiralty, Vol. 167, No. 15-O.

FALCON IN NANTASKET ROAD, 10 August, 1775.

SIR:—I beg leave to inform you that on the 8-instant, cruizing off Cape Ann in His Majesty's sloop under my command, I discovered two Schooners under sail standing for the shore. I made sail after them and very soon came up with the Sternmost and detained her, the other got into Cape Ann Harbour whither I followed; on my anchoring the same day, I sent Lieut. Thornborough with the Pinace, Long Boat and Jolly Boat, mann'd and arm'd in order to bring the Schooner out, the Master coming in from sea at the same time in a small tender I directed him to go and assist the Lieutenant. When the Boats had passed a Point of Rocks that was between the Ship and Schooner they received a heavy fire from the Rebels who were hidden behind Rocks and Houses, and behind Schooners aground at Wharfs, but notwithstanding the heavy fire from the Rebels, Lieut. Thornborough boarded the Schooner and was himself and three men wounded from Shore. On the Rebels firing on the Boats, I fired from the ship into the Town, to draw the Rebels from the Boats. I very soon observed the Rebels payed little attention to the firing from the ship, and seeing their fire continued very heavy from the schooner the Lieutenant had boarded, I made an attempt to set fire to the Town of Cape Ann, had I succeeded in \* \* \* I flatter myself would have given the Lieutenant an opportunity of bringing the Schooner off, or have left her by the Boats—

as the Rebels' attention must have been to the fire—But an American part of my complement (who had always been very active in our cause) set fire to the Powder before it was properly placed, our attempt to fire the Town not only failed but one of the Men was blowed up, and the American deserted, a second attempt was made to set fire to the Town but did not succeed, the Rebels coming to the Fort obliged the four Men to leave it.

I then began to fire on the Town but the Houses being built of wood could do no great damage.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon the lieutenant was brought on board under cover of the Master's fire from the Schooner, who could not leave her. All the Boats were much damaged by the shots and lay on the side of the Schooner next to the Rebels; on my being acquainted with the situation of the Master, I sent the Prize Schooner to anchor, ahead the Schooner the Master was in and veer alongside to take him and People away, who were very much exposed to the Rebels' fire, but from want of an officer to send her in it was not performed, the Vessel not anchored properly. And as I apprehend the Master could not see any prospect of being assisted, and a heavy fire from the Rebels, and numbers coming to their assistance, delivered himself up about 7 in the evening with the Gunner, fifteen Seamen, Seven Marines, one Boy, and ten prest Americans. The Schooner I sent in to assist the Master, on his going ashore ran in and was retaken by the Rebels. I am inclined to think the Company of the Schooner had been hid and took the opportunity of retaking the Vessel that was sent to assist the Master; after the Master was landed I found I could do him no good, nor distress the Rebels by firing. I therefore left off. On this occasion the Rebels took the Pinnace, Jolly boat, three Swivels, some small Arms and two small anchors with one Hawser, that was to wharp the Schooner out by. I remained at anchor till the following morning and then wharped out to proceed to this place.

(Signed)

JOHN LINZEE.

Vice Admiral Graves

#### ENDORSEMENT:

Captain Linzee of the *Falcon* to Vice Admiral Graves- No. 1. In Vice Admiral Graves' letter of the 17th Augt. 1775. In Lords of the Admiralty, 21 Sept., 1775.

H. O. Admiralty, Vol. 167, No. 15 (b) A few sentences from the Vice Admiral's letter of 17 Aug.:

"On the 10th Instant the *Falcon* anchored in Nantasket Road, and I received a letter from Captain Linzee (a copy of which is inclosed) giving an account of an unsuccessful attempt to take a laye Schooner in Cape Anne Harbour and to destroy the Town and that he was obliged to come away with the loss of two Boats his

Master Gunner, sixteen seaman and seven Marines taken Prisoners and his Lieutenant wounded."

It matters but very little what our individual opinions are regarding the conflict of which we have spoken and which you to-day recognize. Looking back one hundred and thirty years ago and taking history as we find it, I am inclined to the belief that the event of August 8, 1775, upon this soil, was among those which coming thick and fast as they did at that time, kept alive the confidence and purpose of the people of the colonies to continue the struggle which eventually ended in their independence. Upon this wave-washed Cape where the roar of the breakers is heard from morn till night chanting the song of the sea, there dwelt a class of men trained to all sorts of hardship and suffering, men resolute, determined and brave who were never known to turn their back to an enemy when their homes and loved ones were in peril and danger threatened their liberties. It was in these men that Linzee<sup>1</sup> found a foe worthy of his steel, "who had their quarrel just," and who were contending for those rights which under the blessings of God we their descendants to-day remember and enjoy. Let it be the one grand purpose of your Society to foster and keep alive those great principles for which the fathers contended, and never under any conditions surrender one iota of those rights which your ancestors have handed down to you, and upon which this the greatest of all Republics is founded.

JOHN J. SOMES.

GLOUCESTER, MASS.

<sup>1</sup> Captain Linzee commanded the *Falcon* also on the day of Bunker Hill.

[Address before the Massachusetts S. A. R.]



## A JOURNEY THROUGH NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK IN 1818

[Communicated through Mr. C. S. Brigham, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society.]

*(Concluded From July Number)*

Sunday August 2d.—Oh! Abby, now I *have* got an adventure to relate!! But I will disclose it to you, as moderately as possible;—As we had two miles to ride, to the Shakers village, we thought we would leave early, so as to be there, precisely at half past ten—as the Elder told us, they were very punctual; we accordingly commenced our jaunt, a large party of us, as almost all the people that were at the Springs joined us; father thought the horse looked wishfully at every brook we passed, & supposing the hostler had neglected his duty, he drove in & after the horse had drank sufficiently, he sprung out to fasten the check-rein, when the horse gave a sudden step, rather furiously, & covered father's clothes with a kind of black, clayey mud! now, gentle reader, pause! & imagine our situation!! it was nearly the appointed time! to proceed was utterly impossible, to turn back & change his suit seemed almost as much so—however, the latter was the only alternative—and then we had the mortification of being looked at, in this plight, as we were obliged to pass through the village—and the people, like all others, in a village, run at the window, at the sound of every vehicle! now, was'nt our case really lamentable? We drove back, at a rate, perhaps, seldom seen, in this sober town, father was exactly ten minutes, changing his dress, from “top to toe”; & then we commenced our ride again. We drove so fast, that we arrived exactly at the beginning of the meeting, & then, as the latest had the best seats, we fared better, after all, than the others: those that went earliest naturally took the back seats, & the last, the front.—So much for the adventure, which in its early stage was pretty distressing!! Now, for the Shakers! each family came, in separate groups! the men walked in, at one door, two & two—the women, in the same manner, at the other; the men were dressed in a kind of tea-coloured cloth pantaloons & coats, waist-coats dark blue, hats, the largest brims you can imagine, of the same colour; as they entered, they took off their hats, & stroked their heads twice—then took off their coats,

hung them up & sat down, their shirt-sleeves all tied below the elbow, with narrow, dark-blue ribbon; the women, dressed in long white robes, square book muslin handkerchiefs folded square, & pinned exactly alike—their hair combed straight back, with white muslin caps,—their bonnets the same colour as the men's hats; their shoes black cloth—with heels, about two inches high!! as they entered, two & two, they hung up their bonnets, pulled off their mittens, which were white, folded their pocket-handkerchiefs, also white, with a dark-blue edge, sat down, & clasped their hands, exactly similar:—after sitting, perhaps, five minutes, one of the old men rose & said a few words, merely, that we must consider, that we were in the presence of God, & that we “must worship him, in spirit & in truth”; this is what is called, the opening of the meeting. Then the men & women all sang a long hymn, there seemed no tune, but a kind of Methodistical cant. They really sang as it were from the bottom of their souls & made such a screaming, that few of us were fortunate enough to escape without the headache; then commenced dancing, in a kind of figure, all stood in rows on the floor, & they began dancing, forward & back, then forward & turning, then a kind of shuffle balance, then singing & dancing again, & then the spirit moved an Elder to speak, which he did very handsomely; they are very liberal in their sentiments, treat all denominations as friends, & admire & applaud Virtue wherever it is to be found. He continued speaking for three quarters of an hour, & then another hymn & the dismissal concluded the meeting!! They returned in the same order, as before. So ends our view of the Shakers! which is really worth the trouble of visiting; their exercises, though solemn, I could not realise were devoted to God & when the dances began, it actually appeared more like a Theatre than the house of the Lord! We returned at dinner time, & afterward walking & conversation employed us until five o'clock, when we left Lebanon, & rode through Hancock & Pittsfield to Lenox, fourteen miles, where we are now comfortably situated for the night. Pittsfield is a very pretty little village. It has two churches, & a handsome Academy, with many neat dwelling houses. Our party continued with us until at this place, when we were obliged to separate, owing to the arrangement of the stages, but we have agreed to meet in Hartford: I am really sorry to lose John's drollery; he is very amusing, what he says you would not think of laughing at, were you to hear it from any one else, but he has so original & eccentric an air with him, that he succeeds in being most excellent company; how I long to hear from you all! the clock has struck eleven, so adieu.



Monday 3d.—Well! Abby give us the credit of being very smart. We rose this morning at half past four! and rode on through Lee & Becket to Otis, fifteen miles, to breakfast. From here, we went to Sandersfield, to dine, eight miles: in the afternoon, we passed through Southfield, Tolland, Colbrook, Hartland, & Berkhamstead to New Hartford 16 miles. We here concluded to lodge, this night, where, probably, we shall be decently accommodated. To-day, we commenced riding on Farmington river, at Sandersfield, & have not left it yet—being a distance of 22 miles, it is a delightful road, on the banks of this river; but I soon was weary of the sameness. Adieu.

Tuesday Aug. 4th.—We left New Hartford this morning at eight o'clock, & proceeded on our journey through Canton to Farmington, where we dined. This is a delightful country, the land rich & well cultivated, which at this season, presents us with an agreeable view. We left Farmington early, having dined at country hours, & ascended Mount Talcott, it is three miles over, but after having crossed the Green Mountain, this appears like a tolerable hill. When we arrived at the top, we left the Turnpike, to ride about two miles on the mountain, to view a handsome seat, of Mr. Wadsworth. He is immensely rich, lives in Hartford permanently & only visits this place for about six weeks in the summer. His situation is charming,—but what delights us, is a tower he has built, on the highest part of the mountain. This tower, which is called "Wadsworth Tower" is thirty-three feet high, and commands a most magnificent prospect; you have a view of the whole course of the Connecticut river, and all the villages on it, the famous hills, Mounts Holioke & Tom, the Green Mountains & Blue Hills, & even New Haven & the Sound. Many travellers have visited it, & pronounce it to be one of the finest in our Country; on the top of the Tower are battlements, it is painted a dark, stone-colour & striped with white, in imitation of stone. It is a most enchanting place, & I did not leave it without casting many "longing, ling'ring looks behind." We arrived in Hartford about four o'clock in the afternoon, being 21 miles from New Hartford. After refreshing ourselves, we walked round, to view the City, and found it greatly exceeded my expectations; it is situated on the west side of Connecticut river, & is a place of much business: the State-House is a very handsome building. It is chiefly of brick, the lower story is, however of free stone. This basement story is occupied for public offices, the entrance of this area is secured by large, arched iron doors. Above are the Court-rooms which are finished in a

superior style, the portrait of Washington is beautiful. There is also a room, very pleasantly situated, devoted to the meeting of Committees &c. Opposite the State House is the Phenix Bank, which has lately been erected. The front is of white marble, & on the top has a large spread eagle; this is a handsome building, but requires pillars, or something to relieve the eye. It has two handsome lanterns in front. On the east of the State-House is the Hartford Bank, this is a fine specimen of architecture, it is of brick, the top is of free stone, & what gives it a fine appearance is four large columns, of solid Connecticut stone. We then walked to a handsome church, which the Hartford people presume to think superior to ours, it is, however, very neat; it is built much like all Presbyterian Churches, a wall pew, on each side of the Church, about the centre, is appropriated for the Governor & Lieut. Governor. Over the pews is a kind of canopy, not properly a canopy either, it is of mahogany, the pews are stuffed & furnished, very neatly. Here are twenty-four elegant lamps suspended from different parts of the Church. The steeple is handsome, though I don't think it sufficiently high for the building. Also one other Church for Presbyterians, one for Baptists, & one for Episcopalians. There are many handsome dwelling-houses here, & many fine brick stores. On our return, we found the gentlemen we expected, all well & hearty, Johnny as agreeable as ever, I also found Mr. Martin from Providence, & though we never spoke a dozen words with each other while in town, yet we were now quite sociable. In the course of the evening Dr. Comstock (an acquaintance of father's), called upon us, his wife & sister Miss Chenauvaud, also. After they left us, Mr. Brown & myself enjoyed a comfortable tete-a-tete and thus concludes our evening. Adieu.

Wednesday August 5th.—We have been delighted beyond description, at viewing the fine Asylum for the unfortunate Deaf & Dumb. Oh! they appear so happy in this abode, & so thankful & grateful for this Institution, that it would actually make you, yield heart & hand for its support. Here are fifty-six of different ages, male & female, who reside here. They understand each other perfectly, & converse as rapidly as we do, entirely too, by signs, winks & nods. They most of them write a handsome hand, and are pleased to have questions asked them. I wrote a great many on a slate, all of which they answered correctly; they appeared very interesting, not one of them had a stupid face, but all seemed remarkably sprightly & intelligent. Their ideas are so perfectly original, they would divert you; one of them with all the anima-

tion you can conceive, wrote upon a slate, "What a glorious Institution"; in writing it, she seemed so delighted & grateful, I thought I never witnessed so interesting a sight! From the Asylum, we visited the Museum. This is one of the greatest treats of the kind I have ever had, it is the best collection in New-England—being greatly superior to any in Boston. It contains some fine paintings, several of which were done by Stuart, in a masterly style. It has a large collection of curiosities, both natural & artificial. From the Museum, we returned to our lodgings, and left Hartford at twelve o'clock—and to my great annoyance we were obliged to cross the Connecticut river by a ferry-boat, as the bridge was carried away last winter by a violent storm, they are now rebuilding it, so that, by the next time I journey I shall suffer no inconvenience from crossing the river. They are building a large steam-boat, to run between Saybrook & Hartford. We passed through East Hartford, Bolton, Coventry, Mansfield, to Ashford, where we are now encamped for the night: thirty-four miles from Hartford. Adieu—adieu.

Thursday Aug. 6th.—We left Ashford, this morning, about eight and rode through Pomfret, Killingly, Foster, (R. I.) to Gloucester—thirty miles—as to the road, I can only say, it is one continual succession of up hill & down, & the worst Turnpike I ever rode. We calculated to have been at home to-night, but we are so much fatigued, we are content to stay at a country tavern in Gloucester. Adieu.

Friday August 7th.—After leaving Gloucester, we passed through Scituate & Johnston to Providence 16 miles, where we arrived about one o'clock, under comfortable circumstances, & without any unfortunate occurrence, after an absence of three weeks and two days! Thus is concluded the "famous journal," which I feel thankful is at an end, & that I have again returned to my darling home. With the hope that this series of Letters may not gain quite as much celebrity as Lady Montagu's, or Mrs. Chapone's, E. W. B. offers them to her sister as Light Reading for Leisure Hours.

Providence, August 7th 1818.

General summary of the tour of Gen. Bridgham & daughter, in the summer of 1818, through the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Connecticut & Rhode-Island:

From Providence to Worcester.....	42
From Worcester to Sterling.....	13
From Sterling to Fitchburg.....	13
From Fitchburg to Keene, (N. H.).....	39
From Keene, through Surry, to Bellows Falls, from thence, through Walpole, to Westminster.....	24
From Westminster to Guilford.....	25
From Guilford to Bennington.....	39
From Bennington to Saratoga Springs.....	42
From Saratoga Springs to Ballston Springs.....	7
From Ballston Springs to Waterford.....	24
From Waterford to Albany.....	10
From Albany to Lebanon Springs.....	27
From Lebanon Springs to Lenox.....	14
From Lenox to New Hartford.....	39
From New Hartford to Hartford.....	21
From Hartford to Providence.....	80
	<hr/>
	459 Miles
Add To & from Green River.....	6
Add To & from Cohoes Falls.....	4
Add To & from Shakers Village.....	8
	<hr/>
Total	477 Miles



## AN UNKNOWN EXILE: WAS HE CHARLES X?

[Reprinted from the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, May-June, 1893, as necessary to be read before an article on the other side of the subject, by Mrs. Jane Marsh Parker, which we will print next month.—Ed.]

**I**N the year 1808, a French gentleman came into the wilds of the southern part of Madison county, New York, and erected a château upon the wooded summit of the highest hill in Georgetown. In lowering weather this hill is among the clouds. He had purchased of Daniel Ludlow, in the city of New York, two thousand seven hundred acres of land, paying for it the handsome sum of nine thousand eight hundred and sixty-two dollars and twenty-five cents. The deeds conveying the property to Louis Anathe Muller for that was the name he gave, were recorded in the county clerk's office of Madison county, May 4, 1888, and bear date of February 20, 1808.

The stranger brought great wealth in gold and silver coin into the wilderness, and spent it lavishly in clearing land, erecting a château, and establishing a great park for game. Upon a stream near the château a fish-pond was excavated. The grounds were carefully laid out, and poplars were planted in a semicircle bordering a driveway to the dwelling. Muller had a good knowledge of military tactics and the arts of defensive fortification, for he immediately cleared a great space about his residence, so there were no woods within rifle shot. The trees were dug out by the roots at great expense, and the laborers who accomplished this task were paid in gold. The château was a fortress. It was seventy feet long and thirty wide and the walls were constructed of solid hewn timbers set on end in heavy sills and keyed together. These upright timbers were eleven feet high and seven or eight inches thick. Upon the tops of the upright timbers plates of heavy hewn sticks were placed, and from them rose the hewn rafters. The building was bullet-proof. A grand hallway passed through it from front to rear. The inside was lathed and plastered in the most substantial manner, as is shown by the excellent condition of the walls to this day. The great building was warmed by seven fireplaces, the brick for which was transported on pack mules over a bridle-path from the village of Hamilton, where Muller lived until his house was com-

pleted. All of the furniture, some of which was costly, was brought into the wilderness in the same way. The region round about was but sparsely settled, the first settlement in the adjoining town of De Ruyter having been made in 1793. The master of the house wore the costume of a French gentleman, a *grand seigneur*, and introduced, as far as possible in the wilderness, the manners of feudal France. He was attended by a retinue of Frenchmen, among them a physician who bore the name of Pietrow. Under Muller's direction, a hamlet was built on his estate, and a saw-mill and grist-mill were erected. Stores were established, and every preparation made for reproducing in the new world all of the conditions of the great landed estates of the French nobles. The sites of the saw-mill and grist-mill can still be identified, and one of the storehouses is now standing. The settlement was called Bronder Hollow from Parson Bronder, who came with Muller from Europe.

Muller rode about his estates on horseback, attended by servants who were armed. He was an enthusiastic sportsman and spent much of his time in the forests and the park he had established. This enclosure was surrounded by a high fence, and included about half his estate. He never shot at any bird or animal while it was at rest, but his sight was unerring. The remains of his fish-pond are still visible at a short distance east of the house. It was said by the early settlers that Muller often waded into this pond with his silk stockings to cast the line for trout. All of the local traditions represent Muller as of distinguished appearance, erect, agile, and possessing the air of command. As his age and personal appearance are important in determining his identity, further reference to them will be made. The character of Louis Anathe Muller was well studied by all of the settlers in his vicinity who had dealings with him, and many anecdotes are related illustrating his peculiarities. He was honorable in all his dealings and of benevolent disposition; but was easily imposed on, especially in matters connected with agriculture, of which he was quite ignorant. This ignorance indicates that he had never been a practical man of affairs upon a landed estate, and leads to the conclusion that he was a courtier. Muller tried costly experiments to the enrichment of his shrewd neighbors, and succeeded in nothing but killing wild animals, and expending large sums of money to little purpose.

Muller watched with deepest interest the progress of the War of 1812; but when a sergeant was sent by Captain Hurd of the local militia to warn him to appear at general training, armed and equipped as the

law directs, there was angry expostulation. Muller declared to one of his trusted superintendents, Chancellor Bierce, that he had been gravely insulted. He said it was an outrage for one who had been a general of division and a participant in the making of three treaties to be asked to do military service in Captain Hurd's company. He did not appear at the muster. This was one of the few occasions upon which he allowed himself to speak of his past history. In his angry remarks, however, there were no admissions that could lead directly to the revelation of his identity. A man accustomed to secret methods alone could have successfully concealed his name and the purpose of his strange action in hiding himself in a wilderness. During his stay in Georgetown, Muller was generally liked because of his polite manners and generous disposition. During all of the time of his sojourn in the wilderness he received American and European journals. He was accustomed to take his papers into the field and read to his workmen the stirring news of the day, and watch the effect. He also commented upon the progress of Bonaparte. From these comments it was gathered that he was mortally afraid of Bonaparte, and believed he would conquer all Europe, and possibly the United States. When news came of Napoleon's disaster in Russia, joy took the place of fear, and Muller began to make preparations to leave his Georgetown home; and when the overthrow of Bonaparte seemed assured, he rode away on horseback to take passage for France. The time of Muller's coming and going are of interest as bearing on his identity, and will be further discussed.

Many have been the conjectures as to the identity of this man. He preserved his *incognito* completely, and if any of his retinue offered suggestions, they were always misleading. It is believed in Georgetown that no one but his physician was aware of his true name. Those who had carefully studied the events of the time, and knew the history of the royal family in France, believed that Muller was a Bourbon prince hiding from Bonaparte. Among these was my father, David Maine, a resident of the adjoining town of De Ruyter. He was born in 1798, and as a boy saw Muller and knew the details of his romantic sojourn in the wilds of Georgetown. Of all the details related to me in my boyhood, I was most impressed by Muller's great fear of Bonaparte. This fear convinced all of the early settlers who knew the man, that he had some powerful motive for getting as far as possible from the reach of the Corsican, and making himself secure in his retreat. The bullet-proof house in a great clearing hastily made, showed that all contingencies had been taken into account.

Muller's conduct was evidence that he feared the secret assassin as well as the open foe. Mrs. L. M. Hammond, in her history of Madison county, says:

A strange yet powerful apprehension weighed upon his mind and tintured his prominent movements. In common with the views of the French nation he believed the powers of Europe would fall before the eagles of Bonaparte; that the haughty lion of Britain would crouch and yield, and even the American eagle would fly before the gigantic power of the Corsican. These apprehensions pressing upon him, seemed to find some relief in the hope that the secluded hills of Georgetown would afford him a residence, unknown and unobserved, and a safe retreat from present danger. He avoided mingling in public assemblies, and when visiting a more conspicuous town he was attended by his most trusty servants. Indeed this peculiar watchfulness confirms the opinion that he feared molestation from his native country. Two servants, in livery and armed, usually rode on either side of him as a body guard. At each saddle front, his own and his guards', was a case of pistols and ammunition.

But when Bonaparte made his line of march for Russia, Miller, one day reading the news, was jubilant. "He shall be whipped," he exclaimed. "Bonaparte shall be driven back!" and so it proved. The testimony as to Muller's great fear of Bonaparte, and that he would conquer England, is abundant. Who among the prominent men of the time could have such fear? Who could dread assassination even in the wilds of America?

The starting point of my inquiry was found in a way that is somewhat interesting. My father thought that Muller might be the Duke of Angoulême, who was regarded in America as a gallant soldier. About six years ago my attention was turned anew to the subject of Muller's identity. It was an attractive theme because of the deep mystery, and I have been groping for some light ever since. From the beginning of my quest, which was at first entirely without any new study of French history, and merely a mental question, I had an impression that Muller was not the Duke of Angoulême. Who was Muller? Finally a name came to me, and I wrote it down on a bit of paper. It was at evening, and next day the search began upon the name. From that time the quest became earnest and interesting. That name I shall give as that of the only man who had a sufficient motive for acting as Louis Anathe Muller acted; the only man who had a mortal fear of Bonaparte.

In March, 1891, a letter was addressed to the county clerk of Madison county, C. W. Stapleton, inquiring if the Muller purchase in George-



town was from the Holland Land Company, and the date of the deeds. From his reply it was learned that he purchased the land from Daniel Ludlow, and for the price stated at the beginning of this article.

Not then knowing of Mrs. Hammond's chapter on Muller in the history of Madison county, another letter was addressed to the county clerk, inquiring about the record of the sale of the Muller property, if it had been sold. He replied as follows:

MORRISVILLE, *April 2, 1891.*

H. C. MAINE, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:—Replying to your letter of inquiry of the 24th ult., there are many deeds both to and from Muller prior to 1816, in which year he seems to have closed out his Georgetown property. A deed dated April 9th, 1816, conveys the "Muller Hill" premises, 1,628 acres, to Abijah Weston, of New York City, for \$10,000. This is signed by "Adiline Muller, his wife." "Adiline" also appears in the other deeds as the wife of Louis. A history of Madison County published in 1872, by Mrs. L. M. Hammond, contains the most complete statement regarding Muller to be had.

[Signed] C. W. STAPLETON.

This letter conveyed the first knowledge of Mrs. Hammond's history, which was afterwards found to contain nearly all of the matter concerning which I had made inquiry. Here it is well to note that the sale of the Muller estate took place less than a year after the battle of Waterloo. That battle decided the fate of Bonaparte, and favorably affected the fortunes of the man who lived on "Muller Hill." His exile was ended. The next step was to seek information from some heirs of Ludlow or Weston. Did they know the real name of the exile? A letter was addressed to Hon. Hamilton Fish as one most likely to have knowledge of the Ludlows. A full state of the Muller mystery was given. The ex-Secretary of State replied, however, that he was not able to give any information in the direction of the inquiry.

The history by Mrs. Hammond gives in detail the story of Muller's sojourn in Georgetown. Much of her narrative was familiar to me through my father's conversation upon the subject. But Mrs. Hammond did not attempt to solve the mystery. Names were mentioned by her, but not the name that had occurred to me. Mrs. Hammond says of Muller: "His family physician, a man named Pietrow, once said that Muller was 'cousin the second to the Duke of Angoulême,' but no cre-

dence was given this by those who heard the assertion. Generally the belief prevails in this country that he was a member of the Bourbon family, who, on the abdication of Bonaparte, was restored to his royal privileges." "Dates," says Mrs. Hammond, "demolish the idea that Muller was Louis Philippe."

With the name which had occurred to me as a central point, the inquiry was pursued. When research in the lines just indicated was closed, nothing had been found to throw doubt upon the accuracy of my impression, except the presence of a wife, "Adiline," with the exile in Georgetown. Mrs. Hammond shows pretty conclusively that this wife was taken in New York, and left there when Muller returned to France. The historian of Madison county also names her as a Stuyvesant, and shows by the record of subsequent conveyances of the Muller estate that it was finally placed in the possession of her children, who were adopted by a Stuyvesant in the city of New York. This part of the subject may well rest here. If Mrs. Hammond's surmises are true, there may still be Bourbons in this country.

My inquiry as to Muller's identity was devoted to the habits, character, and activities of a public man. The following questions, which accurately describe Muller, also suggest clearly the answer: Who was possessed of a great fear of Bonaparte? Who had a sufficient motive for hiding himself under an assumed name in a wilderness of the new world? Who was a shallow devotee of old ceremonial, a bad financier, a gentleman of polish and of generosity, a devotee of the chase, a spendthrift, a general, and a coward? What man of the French princes was of Muller's age? and why should Muller quit Georgetown, leaving a great estate, to be present in France in expectation of Bonaparte's downfall? Who actually appeared truculent and vainglorious when the allies marched into Paris in April, 1814? Who had a *penchant* for assumed names in exile? Who had motive and opportunity to return to the United States in 1816 and sell his Georgetown estate? These questions might be extended, but I now purpose to convict this man by good evidence, although most of it is circumstantial. He was afterwards a king of France, who left France by an American ship in 1830, under the assumed name of Count of Ponthieu. He had no further use for the name of Louis Anathe Muller. When Charles X. ran away from Paris in 1830, to embark for England on an American ship, under an assumed name, he executed a maneuver that was quite as discreet as the escape from Paris

in 1789, and the quitting of England for America early in the next century. This running away was characteristic of the man. His flight from Paris was precipitated by Jules Polignac, his prime minister; and, strangely enough, Polignac was involved in the events which caused the flight to America.

Before Charles X. ascended the throne he bore the title, Count of Artois, and with him I shall deal in the further discussion of the mystery about the deserted château in Georgetown. The count was the youngest brother of Louis XVI.; the Count of Provence, afterward Louis XVIII., being next in succession to the king after the death of the dauphin in the Temple. The Count of Artois was an active, energetic, badly educated, shallow man, wholly devoted to the old régime, and incapable of entertaining a liberal idea. He really belonged to a past age, the age of Louis XIV. By dint of perpetual intrigue, sacrificing friends and running away from enemies, the count made quite a stir in the world, and left a name that is respected nowhere in Christendom. The best that can be said of him is that he was a good hunter, and his passion for hunting is one of the clues to his identity as the prince who turned the wilds of the Georgetown hills into a deer park while he was hiding from Bonaparte and the scorn of his brother royalists.

The Count of Artois was a gallant at the court of Louis XVI., a friend and counsellor of Queen Marie Antoinette, a spendthrift and marplot. He gathered about him congenial spirits, chief of whom were the Duke and Duchess of Polignac and their sons, the Duke of Bourbon and his son, the Duke of Enghien, De Broglie, and some others. Artois and the Polignacs, aided by the queen, steadily resisted all the king's efforts to live with his people and relieve their burdens. The king was sacrificed in the contest between the party of Artois and the people clamoring for constitutional government. The count's character and influence over the queen is thus described by Lamartine:

"The Comte d'Artois, the king's youngest brother, chivalrous in etiquette, had much influence with her. He relied greatly on the *noblesse*; made frequent references to his sword. He laughed at the crisis; he disdained this war of clouds, caballed against ministers, and treated passing events with levity." Although the count talked much of his sword, he was always prudent in allowing his friends to make sacrifices. He believed in his destiny, and desired to be king of France. Both of his brothers were despised by him because they showed signs of liberalism.

In contrast to Artois, the Count of Provence behaved with dignity, and remained in Paris supporting the king until 1791.

The Count of Artois fled early from the scene of his mischief-making and shallow resistance to a great popular uprising. On June 20th, 1789, the national assembly, barred out of the hall of the states general, took the oath at the tennis court never to separate until France had a constitution. On the 22d of June, when the assembly was to gather again in the tennis court, it was found that the Count of Artois had hired it. With such small weapons this weak, vain man fought for the old régime. He was also instrumental in the dismissal of Necker and bringing the old Marshal De Broglie to Paris with an army of foreign troops to overawe the assembly. The utter failure of this plot put the royal family in jeopardy. Popular indignation rose against the count, and on the eve of the destruction of the Bastille, his name was put on the list of the proscribed with the queen, Madame Polignac, and many others. The Bastille fell on July 14, 1789; on the 16th Artois and the Polignacs and Condés fled to Turin. All carried with them much of the wealth filched from an overburdened people. They went under the leadership of Artois, to rouse the nations of Europe to war on the revolutionists, and raised a tumult that brought the king's head to the block. Wrong-headed and impetuous, Artois was a leader in the plans to invade France. The king was a victim of his shallow brother. When the king was dead, Artois hastened to call himself "Monsieur" the title of the successor to the throne, although there was a young prince still living, a prisoner in the Temple. The count strutted about Europe, proud that he had stirred things. The emigrants made disastrous war and then scattered. Their court at Coblenz was dissolved by the impetuous army of the Convention.

The Count of Artois and the Duke of Polignac went to Russia. The count had then assumed the title "Monsieur," and the throne seemed near. He was received and fêted by Catherine II., who played the part of the witches in Macbeth, by presenting a costly sword inscribed, "From God to the King"! Catherine was pleased with the courtly grace of the count, and was so well disposed toward Polignac, that she provided him with a dwelling in the Ukraine, far from the red republicans who wanted his head. This visit of Artois had much influence upon future events. The sons of Polignac, Armand and Jules, followed the fortunes of Artois, who was not yet ready to hide himself. The last public adventure of Artois to restore royalty in France was made from England in August,

1795, with an army of emigrants, and a British fleet under Admiral Warren. The plan was to land a strong force, under command of Artois, upon the coast of Brittany, to aid the Chouans and Vendéans, who were still loyal to the Bourbons. Under native leaders of great bravery, the people of western France were fighting in a desultory way against the new government in Paris. There was expectation that the count, who was then the active leader of the emigrants, would force his way to Paris and end the disorder. The expedition sailed away, but when off the coast of France, the count's courage failed, and he refused to land. This exhibition of characteristic cowardice made the name of Artois a by-word, and he was heartily detested by Englishmen, emigrants, and the French republicans.

The gloomy palace of Holyrood, where Rizzio had been murdered, was assigned to the count as his official residence by the prince regent. There the count gathered his devoted followers, the Polignac brothers, M. Rivière, Madame Gontaut, and others. This lady left some memoirs, and the fragments which have been published throw some light upon the residence of the count at Holyrood. He was so despised, frightened and harassed, that up to 1797 he did not dare to leave the palace grounds. But in his hiding he never ceased to plot. His immediate friends and supporters were employed to further his plans, until they were so far involved that Bonaparte executed three of them, and held three others as hostages. Soon after this failure Artois must have fled to America.

In 1797, Madame Gontaut, as probably the agent of Artois, went to Paris in disguise, says Imbert de St. Amand, and returned in safety. It was in this year that General Hoche, one of the ablest commanders of the republican forces, was mysteriously poisoned. We shall refer to the circumstances hereafter. The chief purpose of the journey of Madame Gontaut was undoubtedly connected with an effort to persuade Bonaparte, through Josephine, to end the revolution, and throw his influence in favor of a Bourbon restoration. The effort failed. Bonaparte saw a better career for himself. At the time he may have got an inkling of the secret work of Artois. After the return of Madame, she resided at Holyrood for some years. But it appears from St. Amand, that she afterward went to the court of Louis XVIII., at Hartwell house, Buckinghamshire, England. Louis did not take up his abode in England until 1807, having previously resided in Warsaw up to the treaty of Tilsit, 1807. The Count of Artois must have left England before his brother's arrival.

After the breaking up of the court of Coblenz, the two brothers kept apart; and even the sons of Artois, the Duke of Angoulême and Duke of Berry, avoided their father. The Duke of Angoulême, who had married the orphan of the Temple, kept near his uncle.

At Hartwell house, Madame Gontaut became quite popular among the English, as she had been a *protégée* of Marie Antoinette before the revolution. Her removal to Hartwell house would indicate that Artois had left Holyrood. There is, so far as we have been able to ascertain, no record of his activity or presence at Holyrood after the tragic failure of his plot against the life of Bonaparte in 1804. The *American Cyclopædia* says that after the disgrace of 1795, Artois lived in obscurity, residing mainly in England, till the fall of Napoleon, when he returned to Paris, April 12, 1814. Chambers says of Artois, after the failure to land on the west coast of France: "Detested now by the royalists of France, and despised by the British, he lived in obscurity, until the allies entered Paris in 1814, when he appeared in France as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom." Obscurity was favorable to his escape from disgrace and the vengeance of Bonaparte. The use of the word "obscurity" shows that his doings and whereabouts were not known. The few relatives in England, if they knew of his departure to America, must have rejoiced, for he threatened to cause the extinction of the French Bourbons by his foolish and restless plotting. It is no wonder that his cowardly flight was kept a profound secret, for he was heir to a throne. The secret was well kept.

The final tragedy that came from Artois' plotting at Holyrood, and which in all reason furnished a sufficient motive for his flight, is yet to be described. The plot was aimed at the life of the first consul, and its execution was entrusted to the count's immediate followers. Five of his agents received instructions at Holyrood, and another was incidentally but fatally involved. The culmination of the plot in 1804 resulted in the death of General Georges Cadoudal, General Pichegru and the Duke d'Enghien by order of Bonaparte, and the imprisonment in France of Armand and Jules Polignac and Charles Rivière. The Polignacs and Rivière were the nearest friends of Artois, and it would appear that they were shrewdly held prisoners by Bonaparte to compel the subsidence of their vainglorious and teacherous master at Holyrood. This supposition is supported by an incident in the trial of Rivière, which especially recommended him to the consideration of Artois when he became king. The

story of the plot to assassinate Bonaparte involves a brief history of each agent and his connection with the Count of Artois.

St. Amand, in giving reasons for the appointment of Jules de Polignac minister of state by Charles X. in 1829, says of the brothers: "After having been one of the courtiers of the little court at Coblenz, Jules de Polignac had taken service for some time in Russia, and then passed into England, where he had been one of the most intimate confidants and one of the most active agents of the Count of Artois. Sent secretly into France with his elder brother, Duke Armand de Polignac, he was, like the latter, compromised in the Cadoudal conspiracy. Their trial is remarkable for the noble strife of devotion in which each of the brothers pleaded the cause of the other at the expense of his own. Armand was condemned to death. His wife then threw herself at the feet of the first consul, who, thanks to the intercession of Josephine, commuted the penalty of death to perpetual confinement. Jules was condemned to prison, and shared the captivity of his brother." This account is very meager, omitting the interesting facts which were brought out. The Polignacs undoubtedly made a clean breast of it, showing that they were merely the innocent agents of the Count of Artois. It is certain that M. Rivière was closely questioned about Artois. St. Amand says, in describing Rivière after he had been appointed by Charles X. governor of the "child of miracle," the Duke of Bordeaux, afterward known as the Count of Chambord: "The choice of Charles X. fell on one of his oldest and most faithful friends, the Lieutenant-General Duke Charles de Rivière. He was a soldier of great valor, of gentle disposition, full of modesty and kindness. Born December 17, 1763, M. de Rivière had been the companion and servitor of the princes in exile and misfortune, and they had confided to him the most difficult and dangerous missions. He was secretly in France in 1794, and was arrested and condemned to death as implicated in the Cadoudal case. At his trial he was shown at a distance the portrait of the Count of Artois, and asked if he recognized it. He asked to see it nearer, and then having it in his hands, he said, looking at the president: 'Do you suppose that even from afar I did not recognize it? But I wished to see it nearer once more before I die.' And the martyr of royalty religiously kissed the image of his dear prince. Josephine intervened and secured the commutation of the sentence, as well as that of the Duke Armand de Polignac." "Josephine intervened." This is the Bourbon way of stating it. But this dramatic display of the picture of Artois was to affect Artois himself, and make

him believe that he was wanted, and that his tools were of no consequence except as hostages. The shrewd calculation of Bonaparte undoubtedly frightened the man at Holyrood, who had so often shown cowardice, half out of his wits. In Georgetown he was in abject fear, and read the European papers with feverish anxiety to see whether his dear friends still kept their heads upon their shoulders. Their safety depended upon Artois keeping as still as a mouse, and he kept still, and hunted with an energy that characterized him during his life. He also feared assassination, as is clearly shown by the precautions he took while on journeys, and in avoiding public assemblies, as indicated by Mrs. Hammond. The Count of Artois dreaded assassination because he was himself an assassin of the meanest sort.

When General Hoche died of poison, Bonaparte learned something to his advantage, and we presume that his detectives never ceased to watch the chief and most active royalists from that time. When the Polignacs and Rivière and Pichegru and Cadoudal left Holyrood on their errand of assassination, their departure must have been soon after known to Bonaparte in Paris. The swiftness with which all of the agents of Artois were seized must have surprised the shallow plotter in the suburbs of Edinburgh. He knew then that he was watched, and doubtless expected that a man who could strike with such certainty and swiftness would end him as he had the Duke of Enghien,<sup>1</sup> Cadoudal, and Pichgru.

The Count of Artois had a sufficient motive for leaving England and hiding himself in America. The Count of Provence, we believe, had nothing to do with the plots; he was in Warsaw at the time. In the Count of Artois we find the only man who had reason to fear Bonaparte as Louis Anathe Muller feared him. Artois was the only man who was cowardly enough to send his friends to assassinate Bonaparte and then run away himself to a secure hiding-place.

General Moreau was banished to America by Bonaparte because of connection with the Cadoudal conspiracy. The disgraced general found refuge at Morrisville, Pennsylvania, opposite Trenton, New Jersey, and conducted a farm there from 1804 to 1813. He was not the man who

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon's will contains the following reference to the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien: "I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried because that step was essential to the safety, interest and honor of the French people, when the Comte d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances I should act in the same way."



built the château on the heights of Georgetown. Moreau left Morrisville in 1813, about the time that Muller left Georgetown, but Muller came back in 1816, while Moreau was mortally wounded at the battle of Dresden, while serving on the staff of the Czar Alexander, and died September 2, 1813. This gallant but ill-fated general is eliminated from the list of possible occupants of the Georgetown estates. It is possible that Moreau knew the man at Georgetown, and corresponded with him before taking service under the czar to overthrow Bonaparte.

The Count of Artois was familiar with many officers who served in America toward the close of the Revolution, and was instrumental in granting favors to one of them, Louis Philippe de Rigaud, the Marquis de Vaudreuil. The marquis was a nephew of Pierre de Rigaud, governor of Louisiana in 1742, governor-general of Canada in 1755, and the builder of Fort Carillon, or Ticonderoga. Louis Philippe de Rigaud served in the fleet of the Count de Grasse in American waters during the Revolution, and was in the action with the British fleet off the capes of the Chesapeake. The marquis was also in the action with Rodney, April 12, 1782. The marquis acquired large estates in America. When the French finance minister Calonne was pouring out money like water at the opening of the French revolution, the Marquis of Vaudreuil sold his American estates to the king for a million francs, through the friendly influence of the Count of Artois. The count performed his part in the jobbery, but the money was not paid, and the estates were returned. The king had no use for them. Artois must have gained a very favorable impression of America from his friend the marquis, even if the latter did not recommend America as a place of refuge. The marquis did not leave Paris with Artois, but remained for a time to assist the king. The marquis finally fled to England, where he lived during the reign of terror. He died in Paris, December 14, 1802. His relationship with the Count of Artois cannot be clearly traced, but he appears to have abandoned the idea of supporting the Bourbons in the capacity of an exile. He is eliminated from the list of possible occupants of the Georgetown estates. His death occurred in the same year as that of Calonne, who had been utterly ruined by his devotion to the Count of Artois. Calonne was made controller-general of finance through the influence of Artois in 1783. Calonne paid Artois' debts and enriched nearly all of the count's friends before they fled from impending danger. After bringing ruin upon the national finances, Calonne followed Artois, serving him at Coblenz, and afterward in England. Calonne finally broke away from the servitude

to the plotter, and went to Paris in 1802, where he died a few weeks after his arrival. His name is not to be considered in connection with the Georgetown estates. He might have died a natural death, but he possessed many of the count's secrets, having been a confidential adviser for many years. Through Calonne, Artois had filched from the French treasury the funds which he had used in various adventures and escapades. Although Calonne was as unstable and unreliable as his patron, the French financier must have come to fear the count and his methods. It is possible that Calonne made revelations in Paris, that led to extreme caution by Bonaparte, and resulted in the tragic failure of the Cadoudal conspiracy. The desertion of Calonne was at least a warning to the count, and must have tended to impress him with the desirability of leaving a country where he was shunned and abhorred.

It may be asked how a man of so much prominence as the Count of Artois could keep secret a flight to America. In the first place, he was so isolated and distrusted that few cared about him or his place of residence. Those who remained faithful to him were rewarded when he became king, and their mouths were closed by favors. Many of those who opposed him and knew his secrets died mysteriously. Of the friends and supporters, Madame Gontaut was made a duchess, and governess to the Duke of Bordeaux. Rivière was made governor of the young duke. Jules Polignac became prime minister. Armand Polignac was chief equerry. The Abbé Latil, who performed the final offices for the Countess of Polastron, Artois' favorite, who died in England, 1803, became Archbishop of Rheims, and crowned his benefactor as Charles X. General Bourmont, who had been in a plot to assassinate Bonaparte early in the great commander's career, and who deserted Bonaparte just before the battle of Waterloo, was made minister of war by Charles X. These friends, if they knew of Artois' escapade to America, guarded his secret well. The life of Artois, or Charles X., was written from such data as were known and furnished by him or his family. The escapade to America was intended to be secret, and no one told of it. Charles X. was noted for his ability to keep his own counsel and deceive his best friends. St. Amand says of him, just before the revolution of 1830: "Like his grandfather, Louis XV., and almost all the Bourbons, he had the talent of dissimulating well." He dissimulated so well that he deceived even himself. Only a man of such cunning could have concealed his identity in the wilds of Madison. Deception had become a fixed habit. It was hereditary. The deception at Georgetown required a man of peculiar

character to carry it out, and the only public man who possessed this character to perfection was the Count of Artois.

In the course of the investigation, the results of which have been partly detailed, the Duke of Bourbon at one time appeared to be worthy of consideration as a possible occupant of the Georgetown château. He was the father of the Duke of Enghien, and was probably somewhat affected by his son's tragic death. But the Duke of Bourbon was not a coward, although a man of no great power. He was one of the weakest of the Condés, and, unlike his son, had never given any particular offense to Bonaparte. The duke was born in 1756, and his age was about that of Louis Anathe Muller, as estimated by those who knew him. The duke was also a hunter, although he spent less time in hunting than the Count of Artois. The duke was not associated with Artois in England, and must have been as deeply disgusted with his futile plottings as the rest of the royalists. Imbert de St. Amand says: "During the emigration, the Duke of Bourbon served with valor in the army of his father, the Prince of Condé. While the white flag floated at the head of a regiment, he was found fighting for the royal cause. When the struggle ended, he retired to England, where he lived near Louis XVIII., and always at his disposition." Louis XVIII. had no patience with his brother, the Count of Artois, and kept away from him. Louis lived quietly at Hartwell house, and many of the royalists who had not been imprisoned or executed through the plottings of Artois gathered there. The Duke of Bourbon was among them. General Dumouriez has also been considered, but at the time Muller settled in Georgetown, Dumouriez was sixty-nine years old, while Muller was estimated to be about fifty. The general, although a royalist, had no particular reason for fearing Bonaparte. Dumouriez died in England in 1823. The Count of Artois was of the right age, fifty-one, in 1808, had a sufficient motive, answers in character and in methods of amusement to Louis Anathe Muller. Artois was a man of illusions, say his biographers, and Muller was a man of illusions. He tried to create a paradise on the bleak hill-top in Madison county, and made costly experiments in horticulture.

The exact time when Artois left Holyrood for America cannot well be ascertained, for it is not known how long he remained in the vicinity of New York city before buying the estate in the wilderness. He must have remained in New York long enough to have made the acquaintance of many of the leading men of the city. At the time Artois probably

left Holyrood, there was general expectation that Bonaparte would conquer all Europe, and that England would be invaded. Muller held this view. England had proposed an alliance against Bonaparte in 1805, and such an alliance was formed. In the summer of that year Bonaparte swept all before him. He conquered Austria, and in 1806 moved against Prussia, entering Berlin October 26, 1806. On the 21st of November he declared the British islands blockaded. Preparation was also made to land a force on English soil. Clearly, British soil was no place for a coward like the Count of Artois, who was saving himself to be king. He must have gone away from Holyrood between 1804 and 1807, probably after the proclamation of a blockade by Bonaparte. Artois was free to leave Edinburgh; he was even free to marry in New York, as it is intimated he did by Mrs. Hammond. The Countess of Artois, from whom he had been separated for many years, died in 1805. His favorite, the Countess of Polastron, died in England in 1803.

The count came to America not only to avoid Bonaparte, but to put at rest the tongues that were busy with his name. His real name was as odious in America as in Europe, and if he was to become king his evil deeds and cowardice must be forgotten. For this reason it was wise to hide himself under the name of Louis Anathe Muller. Throughout his career he showed a disposition to make people think well of him. He tried to be affable and generous. He was ostentatiously so. He contrived a dramatic scene when the Countess of Polastron died, and the story of his oath to renounce the wickedness of the world was spread broadcast by his faithful followers, the Abbé Latil and Madame Gontaut. When Artois became king he employed every art to please and conciliate. Lamartine says he had "an ardent thirst for popularity, great confidence in his relations with others, a constancy in friendship rare upon the throne." His gracious kindliness of manner was to a large degree natural, but he cultivated it. St. Amand says: "The fiercest adversaries of Charles X. never denied the attraction emanating from his whole personality, the chief secret of which was kindliness." Count d' Haussonville says: "He plainly wished to please those whom he addressed, and he had the gift of doing so. His physiognomy as well as his manner helped. It was open and benevolent, always animated by an easy, perhaps a slightly commonplace, smile." M. de Viel Castel wrote: "In the lively satisfaction he felt in entering at last, at the age of sixty-seven, upon the enjoyment of the supreme rule by the perspective of which his imagination had been so long haunted, he was disposed to neglect nothing to capture public

favor, and thus gain the chance to realize the dreams of his life. His kindliness and natural courtesy would have inspired these tactics, even if policy had not suggested them." He had long been plotting for the throne. He had also been schooling himself as best he could for it. D'Haussonville says of Charles at his coronation: "No one was better adapted than he, in default of more solid qualities, to give a becoming air to the outward manifestations of a royalty that was at once amiable and dignified."

Louis Anathe Muller was a man of this character. He impressed himself upon all who came in contact with him as an amiable and generous man. Mrs. Hammond has recorded the general impression of him as follows: "Enlarged benevolence marked his conduct; the sick and the needy found their fevered pulses soothed by personal attentions and the means for supplying all reasonable wants." St. Amand says of Charles X.: "He was a tender father, a gentle, indulgent master to his servants."

The description of Muller's personal appearance fits accurately the descriptions of the Count of Artois or Charles X. Again we refer to the work of Mrs. Hammond, as she cannot have been writing to prove any case: "In his personal appearance L. A. Muller was a fine-looking man, about five feet five inches high, well proportioned, possessing a distinguished military bearing. His complexion was of a swarthy color, eyes black and penetrating, features sharply defined, with the forehead of a keen, practical intellect, perfectly in keeping with the fine face. He was apparently about fifty years of age." I cannot vouch for all of this description, but Muller was certainly a man of fine presence. In 1808 the Count of Artois was fifty-one. The *Drapeau Blanc*, a Paris journal, says of Charles X's strongly marked features and handsome face: "This glance, expressing only goodness, this smile, so full of grace, they long for everywhere and always before their eyes. His classic and cherished features are reproduced in every form; every public place has its bust, every hut its image."

Here is another description, from St. Amand, of the graceful man, the bold rider and skilled hunter, which can be well applied to Muller, who was always on horseback upon the great estates in Georgetown: "Born at Versailles, October 9, 1757, Charles X., King of France and Navarre, was entering his sixty-eighth year at the time of his accession to the throne. According to the portrait traced by Lamartine, he had kept beneath the first frosts of age the freshness, the stature, the suppleness

of youth. His health was excellent, and but for the color of his hair—almost white—he would hardly have been given more than fifty years. As alert as his predecessor was immobile, an untiring hunter, a bold rider, sitting his horse with the grace of a young man, a kindly talker, an affable sovereign, this survivor of the court of Versailles, this familiar of the Petit Trianon, this friend of Marie Antoinette, of the Princess of Lamballe, of the Duke of Lauzun, of the Prince de Ligne, preserved, despite his devotedness, a great social prestige. He perpetuated the traditions of the elegance of the old *régime*."

When Louis Anathe Muller purchased the forested heights in Georgetown, two powerful motives actuated him—fear of Bonaparte and an overmastering desire for a place to hunt in security. The Count of Artois' love of hunting was also as strong as his fear of Bonaparte. The passion of hunting, and dread of Bonaparte, evinced by Muller point unerringly to Artois as the man, and the only man, who could have occupied the château on "Muller Hill."<sup>1</sup> We have already seen how Muller devoted a large sum and a vast tract of land to a hunting preserve. His love for the woods and the chase was so strong that it was a matter of comment everywhere in the southern part of Madison county. Let us turn now to Artois' passion for hunting after he became Charles X. He endangered his throne by devotion to the chase. His hunting became a matter for heated discussion, and the opposition journals lampooned him unmercifully. M. de la Rochefoucauld wrote, in January, 1825, in his notes of public expressions about the king: "The good Madame de M——, of the Sacred Heart, was saying the other day: We had a king with no limbs, and with a head; now we have limbs and no head." Imbert de St. Amand wrote: "From 1825 criticism of the king began. He was accused of giving himself up too much to the pleasures of the chase. The time was approaching when his enemies would say of him—a cruel play of words: 'He's good for nothing but to hunt.' " On June 17, 1825, M. de la Rochefoucauld wrote: "I must tell all to the king. I have prevented the giving of a play at the Odéon called Robin des Bois (Robin Hood), because it is a nickname criminally given by the people to him whom they accuse of hunting too often." On October 8 he wrote: "I am in despair at seeing the journals recounting hunt after

<sup>1</sup>The "Muller" château can be reached by way of Canastota and the railway thence to De Ruyter. The chateau is six miles east of De Ruyter village.

hunt." The Duke of Doudeauville wrote in his memoirs: "Twice a week, and often only once, when the weather permitted, he went hunting, perhaps gunning, perhaps coursing. I certify that this was the extent of the hunting of which calumny, to ruin him, made a crime." The French people did not have a high regard for the hunters of the old *régime*. It was not many years before, that these grand hunters shot plumbers and roofers to see them roll off the roofs. The first thing Charles X. did after reaching Holyrood, which he occupied again after his final exile in 1830, was to go hunting. And this was the man who bought a good part of a township in America for the purpose of hunting and personal safety.

I have referred to the fact that Artois was isolated in England, and despised and distrusted by his own family. He was isolated and in perpetual feud with his brother after the restoration in 1814. He kept up a kind of court in Paris, which was the center for reactionists and critics of Louis XVIII's policy. The Count of Artois plotted against ministers, instituted police espionage, and was a constant menace to his brother. Although Louis could not use his legs, he had a head, and was so far devoted to liberal ideas that he succeeded well, until Bonaparte escaped from Elba. Then, with a kind of grim humor, Louis sent his vain-glorious brother as commander of the French armies to Lyons, on March 7, 1815, to oppose Bonaparte's progress. The count behaved as usual, and displayed his sickening fear of the Corsican. He did not get near Bonaparte, but hastened back to Paris and to safety. He reached Lyons on the 8th and left it on the 10th. Unlike him, the Duchess of Angoulême offered real opposition at Bordeaux, and won from Bonaparte the complimentary remark that she was the only man in the family.

The time of Muller's, or Artois', departure for Europe, to be present when Bonaparte was subdued, cannot be accurately given. He was in Georgetown after the opening of the war of 1812, as we have already seen. He must have left New York late in 1813, for he was in Switzerland in 1814, before the Allies descended on Paris. The count was at Nancy, March 23, 1814. He sought Talleyrand and undoubtedly hoped to be king, but Talleyrand and the emperors knew the shallow man too well, and invited the man with a head, the Count of Provence, to take the throne. The time of the return of Artois to America to settle his affairs and sell his estates in Georgetown is known. It was when all danger from Bonaparte was past, after the battle of Waterloo. After the hun-

dred days of Napoleon's rule, and the return of Louis XVIII. to Paris, it is said by his biographers that the Count of Artois held aloof from public affairs. He was absent in America. The battle of Waterloo was fought June 18, 1815, and Muller, or Artois, was in New York selling his estates in April 1816. On the 9th of April he deeded the Georgetown property to Abijah Weston of New York city. The instrument was attested by two of the principal citizens, showing that there was considerable ceremony. The witnesses were Cornelius Bogart and Jacob Radcliffe, mayor of the city. The mayor also signed the deed, probably because Muller was an alien.

While in America, Muller went to his former home in Georgetown, and found it desolate. The furniture was gone, the garden neglected, and he hurried away to France to wait for the man with a head to die. Not until the philosopher of the Bourbon family was on his death-bed did the secret plotting of Artois cease. St. Amand says: "The antagonism between the two brothers had almost entirely disappeared. The Count of Artois, thinking that Louis XVIII. had reached the term of his life, had the good taste not to show any impatience to reign. Moreover, he had already obtained some great satisfactions."

The stormy life of Charles X. ended at Goritz, Austria, in 1836. His bones lie there in the chapel of the Franciscans. His life has not yet been fully written.

It is not necessary to anticipate criticism. Vast interests depended on secrecy, and it is known that the Count of Artois bent every energy to accomplish one purpose—to become king of France. His romantic life in America fits in with all the knowledge we have of his character and surprising enterprises. Should the adventure upon the hills of Georgetown be attributed to any other man, it would first be necessary to show that he was capable of such an escapade. In attributing it to Artois, I have added one more episode to the life of a man who was famed for adventure and daring eccentricity.

HENRY C. MAINE.



## DAKOTA MILITIA

(1862.)

**N**O "scare-heads" in big city papers,  
No "puffs" in Department reports,  
No pictures by "special staff artists"  
Of assaults on impregnable forts.

We are far from the war-vexed Potomac,  
Our fights are too small to make news;  
We are merely Dakota militia,  
Patrolling the frontier for Sioux.

Three hundred-odd "empire builders"  
Gathered in from three hundred-odd claims,  
Far scattered across the wide prairies  
From Pierre to the mouth of the James.

Perhaps they seemed little or nothing,  
Our losses, our toil and our pain,  
The rush of the war-ponies, tearing  
Through our corn-fields and yellowing grain,

The whoop of the hostile at midnight,  
The glare of the flaming log "shack,"  
A beacon of hate and destruction  
As we fled, with the foe on our track.

Our women and young driven, weeping,  
Exhausted, half-naked, afraid,  
To the refugee huts of vermillion  
Or the sun-smitten Yankton stockade.

Small things to a Nation embattled—  
But great to the pioneer band  
Who are blazing the roads of the future  
Through the wastes of a wilderness land.

We plod past the desolate coulée's  
In the sweltering afternoon heat  
While the far ridges shine in a waving, blue line  
Where the earth and the brazen sky meet.

No sound but the hoofs of the column  
As they swish through the dry prairie grass,  
No life anywhere save a hawk, high in air,  
Gazing down as we wearily pass.

There is never a foe we may grapple  
In the heat of the steel-clashing fray—  
For the quarry we hunt is a shadow in front  
That flits and comes never to bay.

A feather of smoke to the zenith,  
The print of a hoof in the sod,  
A shot from the grass where the far flankers pass  
Sending one more poor comrade to God.

Would we rest when the day's work is over  
And the stars twinkle out in the sky?—  
There is double patrol 'round the lean water-hole  
And the picketed horses hard by.

Breast-down in the rain-rutted gully  
With muskets clutched close in our hands,  
The hours of night drag their leaden-winged flight  
Like Eternity's slow-falling sands.

While the Great Dipper, pinned to the Pole Star,  
Swings low in the dome of the North  
And faint through the dark sounds a lone coyote's bark  
Or a snake from the weeds rustles forth.

And the darkness that chokes like a vapor  
Is thronged with the visions which come  
Of children and wife, and the dear things of life  
That peopled the lost cabin home,

Till the East flushes red with the morning  
And the dawn-wind springs fresh o'er the plain,  
And the *reveille's* note from the bugle's clear throat  
Calls us up to our labors again.

We were not in the fight at Antietam,  
 We never have seen Wilson's Creek,  
 We were guiding our trains over Iowa's plains  
 While the shells at Manassas fell thick.

But we're waging war for a new land  
 As the East wages war for the old,  
 That the mountains and plains of the red man's domains  
 May be brought to Columbia's fold.

And though only a squad of militia,  
 That the armies back East never knew,  
 We are playing a game which is largely the same  
 With the truculent, turbulent Sioux.

JOSEPH MILLS HANSON.

ST. LOUIS.

---

## THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, WITH  
 PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE ROYAL COLONY  
 OF NEW YORK.

### CHAPTER IV

#### THE PRESS IN NEW YORK

THE desire to have a printing press, on which laws and proclamations might be printed for the information of the people, was as strong in New York as in the other colonies established along the Atlantic coast, but unlike the general attitude assumed by colonial governments toward the press we find in New York that the head of the colony was the person chiefly instrumental in its establishment.

Francis Lovelace, the second English Governor of New York, when sending to Long Island some books printed in England for the Indians, wrote: "I am not out of hopes, ere long, to have a printer here of my

own; having already sent to Boston for one; but whether I shall speed or no is uncertain." <sup>1</sup>

As we hear no more of the matter it is probable that the inducements Lovelace had to offer did not suffice to tempt the Boston printers. It seems that in this matter Lovelace was acting in his own initiative, since we find the attitude of the home government in the matter clearly stated in the Instructions issued to the Governors. In 1686 those to Governor Dongan contain the following clause: "For as much as great inconvenience may arise by the liberty of printing within our province of New York, you are to provide by all necessary orders, that no person keep any press for printing; nor that any book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever, be printed—without your special leave and license first obtained."<sup>2</sup> This clause appears in Instruction after Instruction given to the succeeding Governors, e. g. to Andros,<sup>3</sup> to Fletcher,<sup>4</sup> Sloughter,<sup>5</sup> to Bellomont,<sup>6</sup> and to Hunter.<sup>7</sup>

The accession of William and Mary brought with it a certain increase in the amount of personal liberty enjoyed by the people, and the ideas now prevalent show themselves in the position assumed by the new Governor, Benjamin Fletcher, toward the printing press. It will be remembered that in 1692 Governor Fletcher, while in Philadelphia, had ordered on petition of Wm. Bradford that his press and tools of trade (which had been seized by the sheriff in the case in regard to the printed address written by George Keith), should be restored, and it may be conjectured that it was at this time that Governor Fletcher conceived the idea of bringing Bradford to New York.

In the Minutes of the Legislative Council of New York for Mar. 23, 1693-4 occurs the following resolution: "If a Printer will come and settle in the City of New York for the printing of our Acts of Assembly and Publick Papers, he shall be allowed the sum of £40 current money of New York per annum for his salary and have the benefit of his printing, besides what serves the publick."

<sup>1</sup> Orders, Warrants, Letters &c., Vol. II, N. Y., at Albany, quoted in Wallace, Bradford Centenary, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. III, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., III, 548.

<sup>4</sup> Same, III, 824.

<sup>5</sup> Same, III, 691.

<sup>6</sup> Same, IV, 290.

<sup>7</sup> Same, V, 142.

This invitation Bradford accepted, and on his arrival in New York was appointed Royal Printer on April 10th, and we find his name included among the officers of the Crown,<sup>8</sup> in a list of April 20, 1693. That a new interest in the carrying on of the government is being awakened among the people and that the legislative body is cognizant of it is evidenced from the Order passed in the Legislative Council on Oct. 20, 1694. "Ordered that Coll Steph Cortlandt, Coll Nich Bayard, Chidley Brooke Esqr, Wm. Nicholl Esqr. and William Pinhorn Esqr. be a Committee of this board to consider what papers and messages passed between his Excell. and Council and Assembly this sessions are proper to be printed and published for the satisfacon of the people." No report is received from the Committee and as the session ended a few days later, the matter seems for the time to have been dropped.

In the next session there is a further advance. Governor Fletcher and his Assembly had become involved in a dispute in regard to the Muster Rolls and the pay for the men serving on the frontier against the Indians. The stages by which the demand for publicity made by the Assembly advanced are shown in the following extracts:

"General Assembly. Apr. 12, 1695. A. M.

"Ordered, That this House do address his Excellency for leave to print the Journal of this House this Sessions; and that the Clerk of this House do acquaint the Printer therewith; and that Capt. Filkin and Capt. Rensselaer do wait upon his Excellency with this address."

"General Assembly—Apr. 13, 1695—A. M.

Ordered, That the Speaker of this House take care of the Minutes of this House, and endeavor to get them printed."

Replying to these resolutions Governor Fletcher in his address to the Assembly says,<sup>9</sup> "You now desire license to print the Votes. Mr. Speaker knows at the opening of the sessions, if I may call it one, I told him they might be printed *de die in diem*; but it never was asked before."

On June 22d, 1695 the Assembly follow up this permission by the following:

"Ordered, That his Excellency be addressed to order the Printer to print the Daily Votes of this House at the publick charge; and that Mr. Read and Mr. Sebring do wait upon his Excellency with the said address.

<sup>8</sup> Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., IV, 760.

<sup>9</sup> Apr. 13, 1695, Minutes Legislative Council.

"Mr. Read and Mr. Sebring, returned from his Excellency and reported that his Excellency is very willing the daily Votes of this House, should be printed at the public Charge, but hopes that the House (before the end of the Session), will allow the Printer something of farther encouragement than that already established."

"Ordered, That the Votes of this House be daily Printed and that the Speaker Issue out his warrant, to the King's Printer, to print the same, at the public Charge accordingly."

In the Minutes of July 3d, 1695 we read:

"The House of Representatives, now convened in General Assembly address his Excellency and Council, and pray that they will allow, unto William Bradford, his Majesty's Printer for this Province, the yearly salary of Twenty Pounds, current money of this Province, over and above the salary already allowed him, by his Excellency and Council."

Next day the Council took action;<sup>10</sup>

"His Excell. did order the reading of an Address from the Assembly, wherein they desire an addition of Twenty Pounds per annum to the salary of the printer."

In 1698 the Earl of Bellomont succeeded Col. Fletcher as Governor and the attitude of the government toward the press became much more stern. But after the coming of Lord Cornbury as Governor, Bradford resumed to a great extent his former relations with the government and during his life so ordered his actions as to become involved in no trouble. Of him Wallace in ending his Address at the Bradford Centenary said "Bradford, we know first planted the printing press in these regions. He first maintained (in Philadelphia) it rights against arbitrary power. . . . What liberty was it the printer exercised, of old? His was a virtuous liberty. . . . He worshipped Freedom, but he never thought of Freedom as dissociated with Government. Freedom and Government; Government and Freedom; complemental; never to be parted. In his long and active life, passed in many regions and where divers rules prevailed, it was his fortune to be sometimes in opposition to the ruling powers, and sometimes their trusted advocate. But in opposing administrations he respected the principles of government. In devotion to place, he never suffered violence to the spirit of Liberty."

<sup>10</sup> Minutes, Legislative Council, 4 July, 1695.

During the administration of Lord Bellomont the interests of Leisler's faction in the province were in the ascendant, and those who were of the aristocratic party were, as far as possible displaced from positions of trust and honor. Of this latter party one of the most prominent was Col. Nicholas Bayard, a member of the Council and a large landowner. Him Lord Bellomont removed from the Council, the ground for this action being that "he had advised the printing of a scandalous and malicious pamphlet entitled 'A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston,' casting odium on Leisler."<sup>11</sup> On Lord Bellomont's death Lieutenant Governor Nanfan assumed the government. He was under the influence of the Leislerian party, and it was therefore with much delight that Bayard and his friends heard that the King had appointed Lord Cornbury to succeed Lord Bellomont. Addresses were accordingly sent by them to the King, the Parliament, and Lord Cornbury. In the addresses there were reflections on Lord Bellomont and Nanfan, the latter being accused of resorting to bribery to have measures passed. On Jan. 16, 1701-2 the Lieutenant Governor and Council<sup>12</sup> ordered Alderman Hutchins (in whose custody the Addresses were) to attend and deliver them. On refusal he was committed to prison, bail being refused.

Advantage was taken by Nanfan and his friends of certain statements in these petitions, and based on a very loose paragraph (in an Act drawn up by Bayard himself and passed by the Assembly in 1691), stating that "whatsoever person or persons shall by *any manner of way* or upon any pretense whatever endeavor by force of arms or other ways to disturb the peace, good and quiet of their Majesties' government, shall be deemed and esteemed as rebels and traitors unto their Majesties and incur the pains, penalties, and forfeitures as the laws of England have for such offenses made and provided," Bayard was then committed to prison as a traitor. The trial which followed is given in Howell's State Trials, Vol. XIV.

The Attorney General, Broughton, did not appear in the case, having given an opinion in favor of the accused when called upon by Lieutenant Governor Nanfan. The indictment (which was objected to as being, first, brought in by a Grand Jury not entirely composed of citizens, and secondly, as not having been signed by the twelve members of the

<sup>11</sup> Dunlap, Hist. N. Y., I, 239.

<sup>12</sup> Minutes of Council of that date, and Howell State Trials, XIV, p. 473.

jury), recites that, "He, Nicholas Bayard, by conspiring as aforesaid . . . did use divers indirect practices and endeavors, to procure mutiny and desertion among the soldiers in pay, belonging to his Majesty's fort and garrison of Fort William Henry, in or near the said city and county of New York aforesaid, and did draw in numbers of them, the said soldiers and others, to sign false and scandalous libels against his Majesty's said government as it is now, and hath for several years last past been established in this province; which said libels, by the procurement of the said Nicholas Bayard as aforesaid, were signed by the said soldiers and others, and were likewise signed by him, the said Nicholas Bayard; in one or more of which said libels, among other things highly reflecting on the past and present administration of the government under his Majesty in this province, it is insinuated and declared, that his Majesty's subjects in this province are, and have been for some years last past, by persons entrusted with the administration of the said government under his Majesty, oppressed; and that the said government hath been, and is rendered cheap and vile in the eyes of the people, and also that the present General Assembly of this province is not a lawful assembly."

The defense strongly asserted the right of petitioning the King, holding that in no other way could a subject in the colonies oppressed by those in power obtain justice, and that treason consisted only in those things defined in 25 Ed. III, wherein no mention of such an act as charged against Col. Bayard is made.

After admitting the writing of the Address, the defense brought forward for the first time the argument that in a case of libel the jury are judges of the law as well as of the fact,—a most important principle, to be reiterated later in the Zenger case and finally established in England in the Fox case. In making this point Mr. Emot, as counsel for the defendant, said:

"I had almost forgot to beg leave of the Court to apply myself to the gentlemen of the jury, to obviate some objections, or rather a vulgar error, that usually hath crept in amongst them on trials, and particularly upon indictments: which is, they do believe.

That if the matters of fact alleged in the indictment be but proved, they are to have no regard for matters of law; which I take to be a very great and dangerous error in them.



For though it be true and must be granted, that matters of fact are the most common and proper objects of the jury's determination, and matters of law that of the judges; yet as the law ariseth out of, and is interwoven and complicated with fact, it cannot but fall under the jury's consideration."

It is also interesting to note that we have here a prisoner on trial for felony allowed counsel, being a century before the privilege was allowed in England. The prisoner was found guilty, as charged in the indictment, of rebellion and treason, and as having procured the signing of libels against the government. The arrival of Lord Cornbury released Bayard and later an order of the Privy Council declared the whole proceedings illegal and void. Wm. Atwood who presided at the trial as Chief Justice fled from the colony and eventually reached England. In 1703 a Joint Committee was appointed by the Legislative Council and General Assembly<sup>13</sup> "to consider a Print or papers brought into the colony from Boston in the case of Wm. Atwood." As no further record in regard to the matter is found, it may be supposed that the matter was not considered of sufficient importance to merit further notice.<sup>14</sup>

In 1693 Saml. Mulford was a Justice in Suffolk county.<sup>15</sup> He seems to have had a peculiar faculty for embroiling himself with the government, being in a chronic state of opposition to any and every measure proposed. From 1705 to 1720 he was a representative in the General Assembly from the county of Suffolk, and took an active part in the quarrel over the rights of the Crown in the whale fisheries off the coast of Long Island. He was ultimately arrested for "trover for converting the Queen's goods to his own use" in refusing to pay the tax of one-tenth, and judgment was given against him.

On April 2d, 1714, shortly after the opening of the third session of the Fifteenth Assembly he made a speech (of which no record is found in the Minutes of the Assembly) "putting them in mind," as he tells us<sup>16</sup> "of some ill measures I was informed were taken, and to set things in their true light, that justice might be done among us. There was a Discourse of having it printed, but the question was not put; however a Copy was desired and taken, which was printed."

<sup>13</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, May 14, 1703.

<sup>14</sup> On Atwood, vide C. P. Daly in "Green Bag" for Mar. Apr. and May, 1895.

<sup>15</sup> Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. of N. Y., IV, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Original document quoted in Ross. Hist. of Long Island, I, p. 731.

This speech was printed, apparently with the approval of the members of the Assembly for no action was taken by the body. But when the Sixteenth Assembly came together we find the following in the Minutes of June 2, 1715:

"A Motion was made that Capt. Mulford give his reasons to this House, why he printed a Speech, formerly by him made to the General Assembly of the Province, without leave of the House.

A Motion was made and the Question being put, That Capt. Mulford give an account now? It was carried in the affirmative.

Capt. Mulford being desired by Mr. Speaker to give his Reasons why he printed his said Speech, proceeded to offer his Reasons and then withdrew.

Then the House proceeded to take the same into consideration.

A Motion was made, That Capt. Mulford be expelled this House for printing a Speech, formerly made to the General Assembly, without leave of the House, in which are many false and scandalous Reflections upon the Governor of the Province. It was carried in the Affirmative.

Ordered, That Capt. Mulford be expelled from the House for the said offense."

On the 9th of June the Speaker issued his Warrant for the election of a member from Suffolk to take Capt. Mulford's place, but no action ensued as the Assembly was prorogued on July 21st and dissolved a month later.

Meanwhile an indictment charging Mulford with "a High Misdemeanor, acting contrary to his duty of Allegiance, in manifest Contempt of his Majesty, and the Governor of these Provinces, etc., had been lodged with the Grand Jury which, however, indorsed it, "Ignoramus." An information was then lodged by the Attorney General and on that he was tried in the Supreme Court. His plea of privilege of the House was overruled and the case carried from term to term without a decision being rendered.

When the Seventeenth Assembly came together on July 5, 1716, Capt. Mulford was again returned as a member from Suffolk. On June 16, he set forth his case to the House, and the following record appears in the Minutes.

"A motion was made, and the Question was put, That Capt. Mul-

ford put the Speech he made this Day in the House, into the Hands of the Clerk of this House.

It was carried in the Affirmative.

The matter excited so much attention that the Assembly finally drew up an address to the Governor, Robert Hunter.

“To His Excellency the Governor.”

“The Humble Address of the General Assembly of New York.”

“May it Please your Excellency.

The Assembly being deeply sensible of the Damage and Inconveniency Mr. Samuel Mulford, A Member of this House, suffers and undergoes, by occasion of a Prosecution against him in the Supream Court, for Printing and Publishing a Speech, formerly made by him in Assembly; are humble suitors to your Excellency, to give Orders that Mr. Mulford, in regard to his great Age, distance of habitation from this City, and other considerations, may be freed and discharged from the said prosecution in the Supream Court.

To this the Governor replied:<sup>17</sup>

“Although the Gentleman named in the Address lay under a Prosecution, not for a Speech made in their House, But for Publishing and dispersing a false and Malitious Libel, against the Government, (for So it was Termed by the House of Representatives) tending to alienate the affections of the Subjects from the Government, and raising groundless Jealousies in the minds of the people and Indeed it had in some measure had that effect. Yet to show them what regard he had, and ever Should have to any applications made to him by that House, So soon as Capt. Mulford should apply to him in a Dutifull manner for what was desired, for as yet he had applied in no manner at all, he would comply with what they had desired of him, and without that he believed that ne’er a one of them could Expect it.”

Mulford refused to submit and went to England where he presented his case so ably that Governor Hunter was ordered by the Lords of Trade<sup>18</sup> to cease all proceedings against him.

On his return to New York he took his seat in the House, but on Oct. 26, 1720, was once more expelled, and probably on account of age was not returned when the new Assembly met in 1726.

<sup>17</sup> Minutes, Legislative Council, Aug. 21st, 1716.

<sup>18</sup> Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. V, p. 505.

NEW YORK CITY.

LIVINGSTON ROWE SCHUYLER.

(To be continued.)

# THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

## A PAGE OF HISTORY CORRECTED

### CHAPTER I

#### HALLECK AND FITZ-JOHN PORTER

[In this, and several following numbers, the author, a veteran of the 87th Ohio Volunteers, gives for the first time, the true history of what has been known for many years as the "Fitz-John Porter case." This is a story which involves so many and so important details, and so many well known personages in the history of the Army of the Potomac that we are confident the narrative, backed as it is by constant quotation from the official records, will prove of great interest to our readers.

The author says in a note to the Editor: The result of my researches, which have been made with studious care, will doubtless surprise many readers, but they have surprised myself much more. They have taken me nearly seven years—and their character has evoked such testimonials as these—General Daniel E. Sickles wrote: Your critical analysis of testimony impressed me favorably, and I am much interested in the record of my friend, Fitz-John Porter. The facts embodied in your paper are most important and valuable, evincing rare research on your part.

The late Colonel Jacob L. Greene, President of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, who served on the staff of General Custer, wrote me: It is a tremendous indictment—it takes one's breath away. You will arouse an immeasurable interest.

Further and similar endorsements will appear in the subsequent chapter headings.—ED.]

**T**HAT it has taken more than forty years to get at the real history of the defeat of the Union forces at Second Bull Run is passing strange. This is made more remarkable by the General Fitz-John Porter incident which has been before the public so often, and by the great ability and high character of those who have taken sides in that controversy; for the list of contributors to the Porter literature includes many of the ablest military, legal, literary, and legislative minds in this country. If Generals Logan, Hawley, Jacob D. Cox, and others were arrayed against him, Generals Grant, Edward S. Bragg, Joe Wheeler,

and others have taken up the sword in his behalf. From the legal profession such lights as Charles O'Connor, Reverdy Johnson, Edward Everett, Daniel Lord, B. R. Curtis, Joseph H. Choate, and others have shone into the darkness. Upon the floors of both Houses of Congress, the statesmen who have espoused his cause (or opposed it) are to be numbered by hundreds. The Legislature of Colorado sought to drive him thence because of his alleged treason. The Legislatures of New Hampshire and Pennsylvania besought for him a rehearing because of his patriotism. Regiments and brigades, and the entire Fifth Army Corps, officers and soldiers, and the Loyal Legion pleaded in his behalf. And yet the true story of the Second Bull Run has been held back for forty years! Not one speaker or writer, named or unnamed, has ever given a true account of the cause of that disaster. Even Porter himself, who wrote volumes about his own case, did not seem to know it. And as a rule Porter's friends have cast the blame upon General Pope; Pope's friends have thrown it back upon Porter. This game of battledore and shuttlecock has been kept up since 1862.

The board of officers appointed by President Hayes to examine into the case, consisting of Generals Schofield, Terry, and Getty, had officially reported, in 1878, that "Whoever else may have been responsible it [the defeat] did not flow from any action or inaction of his [Porter's]." It further said that "Porter's faithful, subordinate, and intelligent conduct that afternoon saved the Union Army from the defeat which would otherwise have resulted that day from the enemy's more speedy concentration." And further: "That the Confederate general-in-chief [Lee] was there in person at least two or three hours before the commander of the Army of Virginia [Pope] himself arrived on the field, and that Porter with his two divisions [the Fifth Army Corps] saved the Army of Virginia that day from the disaster naturally due to the enemy's earlier preparations for battle."

This indicates that the board had Pope in mind as the one really responsible, although its report did not so declare.

General Grant, in his article entitled "An Undeserved Stigma," published in the *North American Review* (December, 1882), said of the Porter case:

"These facts would indicate to an unprejudiced mind that the charges against Porter were an after-thought, to shift the responsibilities of failure from other shoulders and to place them upon him."

General Grant rendered his decision thoroughly exonerating Porter, after a careful study of the case, and independent of that examination made by the board of officers appointed by President Hayes. It is said he became so excited over the injustice done to Porter that he could not sleep, and that more than once he spent the night lying prone upon the floor of his library, which was littered with the papers and documents in the case he was examining.

The opinion of the Porter family itself as to the responsibility for the disaster at Second Bull Run is perhaps best shown in a little work entitled "A Summary of the Case of Fitz-John Porter," prepared by a particular friend of that family, and from which the following excerpts are taken:

(1) "The truth is Pope was beaten by his own mismanagement."  
[P. 82.]

(2) "Wherever it was possible for Pope to make a mistake he made one." [P. 65.]

Such assertions are altogether wrong. For—

While the Second Bull Run was not lost by Fitz-John Porter, it certainly was not lost by John Pope. And from personal letters between General-in-Chief Halleck and Major-General Pope, which have somehow found their way into the "Official Records," it is proved beyond peradventure that Halleck himself laid all the plans for that campaign, and that Halleck's plans were earnestly, honestly, and faithfully executed by Pope. Halleck was responsible for the defeat. In the correspondence referred to, Pope makes the charge, and Halleck does not deny the truth of it, as will hereafter be shown. No stronger evidence of any fact can be adduced. It is documentary, and verified by the signatures of both Pope and Halleck. And when Pope discovered that he had been used as a tool, and when the press of the country became fierce in its denunciation of him, he wrote those terrible letters to Halleck, threatening to expose the real culprit unless the blame should be lifted from his own shoulders. A cornered rat should be allowed an avenue of escape, and Pope allowed Halleck a way out of his dilemma. He demanded a Court of Inquiry, and suggested the names of three generals, upon whom the responsibility might be fastened. They were McClellan, Porter, and Griffin. He even went so far as to name the very day for action—November 25, 1862. And on that self-same day Halleck issued

the order convening the court for the trial of Fitz-John Porter. McClellan had already been sacrificed on the 7th of that month, and Porter stood next on Pope's list. And Fitz-John Porter, who, with his two divisions (Morell's and Sykes's) of the Fifth Army Corps, actually saved Pope's army from total destruction, and the capital of the nation from capture, was as wilfully and deliberately sacrificed, as the battle of Second Bull Run had been wilfully and deliberately given to the Confederates.

Daniel Lord, one of the most eminent juris-consults of his day, gave his opinion of the trial as follows:

"At the time of General Porter's trial, I read the proceedings with astonishment at the testimony received and acted on, and am convinced that the trial was substantially conducted on an order to convict."

This opinion was given merely upon the flimsy nature of the testimony. At the time of its rendition (January 31, 1867) it is doubtful if Counsellor Lord had the means of knowing that some of that evidence was rank perjury, as has been subsequently proved.

But the Pope-Halleck private letters were not only preserved among the public archives, where they did not belong, but they have been further preserved by "the art preservative of all arts," and are printed in the "Official Records," Vol. XII, Part III, pages 816 to 827, inclusive.

Look and see;

"For there you have them all at one fell swoop,  
Instead of being scattered through the pages."

They prove conclusively that Pope was not "beaten by his own mismanagement," and that he did not make one mistake, as was charged in that "Summary"; but that he carried out Halleck's plans faithfully and to the very letter.

The story of the close of the Peninsula Campaign and that of the battle of Second Bull Run are so closely interwoven that it is impossible properly to tell the last without referring to the first. Halleck, himself, in his official report of November 25, 1862, unites the two so closely that they cannot be divorced. He says:

"Had the Army of the Potomac arrived a few days earlier, the rebel army could have been easily defeated, and, perhaps, destroyed."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Official Records, Ser. I, Vol. XII, Part II, p. 8

This is certainly and absolutely true. And it is fully as true that Halleck himself wilfully prevented the junction of the Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, with the Army of Virginia, under Pope. Nothing can possibly be clearer than that. The proofs consist of documentary evidence bearing, for the greater part, the signature of Henry W. Halleck himself.

Halleck declares that:

(1) "The only alternative now left was to withdraw the Army of the Potomac [from the Peninsula] to some position where it could unite with that of General Pope, and cover Washington at the same time that it operated against the enemy."<sup>2</sup>

(2) "That in order that the transfer to Aquia Creek might be made as rapidly as possible, I authorized General McClellan to assume control of all the vessels in the James River and Chesapeake Bay, of which there was a vast fleet."<sup>3</sup>

(3) "That the troops from the Peninsula were ordered not to wait for transportation, but to march immediately to the field of battle. Some of the corps moved with becoming activity, but the delays of others were neither creditable nor excusable."<sup>4</sup>

A careful, painstaking, and even studious examination of the official records shows conclusively that:

(1) The Army of the Potomac should not have been withdrawn from the Peninsula at all, but should have been permitted to capture Richmond.

(2) The authority given by Halleck to McClellan to "assume control of all the vessels in the James River and Chesapeake Bay" was a barren one, inasmuch as there were no vessels there. Its only effect was to deceive a world; the statement that there was a "vast fleet" is simply false; and—

(3) That while Halleck's charge that the delay of some of those corps was "neither creditable nor excusable" is strictly true, the blame for those discreditable and inexcusable delays rests solely upon Halleck himself.

First, it is in order to consider the withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 5

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 7 and 8



It is a universally accepted military maxim that a general should not do what his enemy desires him to do. Lee and Davis had wished McClellan away from the Peninsula; they could not drive him off, but were actually contracting their lines and retreating before him. By withdrawing McClellan, Halleck was serving the Confederacy better than he could have done if he had openly joined General Lee in the field.

In his letter to McClellan, August 7, 1862, he said: "I have taken the responsibility of doing so, and am to risk my reputation on it. As I told you when at your camp, it is my intention you shall command all the troops in Virginia as soon as we can get them together; and with the army thus concentrated I am certain you can take Richmond. I must beg of you, General, to hurry along this movement. Your reputation as well as mine may be involved in its rapid execution. I can not regard Pope and Burnside as safe until you reinforce them."<sup>5</sup>

A careful examination of the Confederate archives at this point brings into prominence the astounding fact that Halleck was executing Davis's and Lee's wishes.

This is clearly shown by the captured correspondence. And what is still more astounding is the fact that this whole campaign was conducted on the same basis.

On June 29, 1862, General McClellan commenced the movement of his army from the vicinity of Savage Station of the Richmond and York River Railroad to the James River, reaching Berkeley, at Harrison's bar, on July 2. To him General Pope wrote on July 4, receiving a reply in which McClellan said:

"I am in a very strong natural position, rendered stronger every day by the labor of the troops, and which in a few days will be impregnable. I hope in the course of to-morrow to seize a position on the right bank of the James, which will enable me to use either bank of that river at will. The army is in admirable spirits and discipline. It would fight better to-morrow than it ever did before. . . . I may say in conclusion that so far as my position is concerned I feel abundantly able to repulse any attack."<sup>6</sup>

Commodore Charles Wilkes, who commanded the James River flotilla, and controlled the supply of the army, wrote to Secretary of the Navy Welles, August 5: "I have no doubt but Richmond can be taken.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. XI, Part III, p. 360

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 306

It may require hard knocks, but success, I think, is finally certain. My officers and men are all in spirits, and full of energy to undertake their part of the service. An abandonment of the army position would have a great effect to destroy the animus of the whole fleet. The situation of the army is secure under any event. Its position now is strong; the several corps are again re-established, and all are in excellent spirits for the coming campaign and the investment and taking of Richmond."

He said further: "The withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac would be the most suicidal act that any administration could commit, and be attended with every disaster that could befall our army. . . . In the first place an entire demoralization of the troops and their officers would take place. [Now, mark this well!] "There is no transportation adequate to the move, and all the splendid equipage, gathered at a vast expense, would necessarily have to be destroyed to prevent falling into the hands of the enemy. . . . As to the time, this could not be less than five or six weeks at least, if it were done by water. [Note. It had taken six week to transfer the army from Alexandria to the Peninsula.] Another course is the only one possible, in my view, and that is a retreat by land. . . . By the time the army reached its transports, at Fort Monroe, or higher up, its morale, spirit, and energy would be entirely gone, and instead of being able to reinforce another army in the field by the Rappahannock, it would have wasted itself away. . . . I trust in God this direful act will not be carried out—our noble cause will be ruined if it is. General McClellan is confident, as I am, in the result—the capture of the rebel capital, and of maintaining the honor, safety, and glory of the Union and its army." <sup>7</sup>

These opinions from the heads of both the land and the naval forces of the Union on the spot, are fully corroborated by both Jefferson Davis and General Lee. On July 5, just after McClellan had secured his new base on the James River, Davis wrote to Lee: "I fully concur with you as to the impropriety of exposing our brave and battle-thinned troops to the fire of the gun-boats"; and he spoke of the Union troops "having the advantage of so strong a position as that held by McClellan." <sup>8</sup> Again, he writes on the same day sanctioning Lee's "view of withdrawing to a better position," and says, "he [McClellan] commands the water up to our [Confederate] batteries, and thus necessitates on your [Lee's] part a retrograde movement." <sup>9</sup> All Richmond is exercised. Confederate

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 356, et seq.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 631

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 632

Secretary of War wires to the South Carolina instruction camp, "Our losses here are so heavy and our necessities so great that the order directing conscripts to be sent to Charleston is suspended. . . . Send your conscripts here . . . as rapidly as you can get them." <sup>10</sup>

And Lee writes Davis (July 6): "The great obstacle to operations here is the presence of the enemy's gunboats. . . . It may be better to have a small, light force with the cavalry here and retire the army near Richmond. . . . I beg you will take every practical means to reinforce our ranks, which are much reduced." <sup>11</sup> Lee was actually retreating before McClellan.

And on July 8, Lee issued his orders withdrawing the army nearer to the city. On the 11th he writes to the Confederate Secretary of War, asking him to "prevent, as far as possible, the diminution of our ranks." <sup>12</sup> That Secretary of War, taking up the spirit of Pope and Halleck, writes to General Finegan, in Florida, of a great victory, and of the need of "a considerable force to reap the fruits" thereof; and on the same date, general orders No. 77 declare that "no leaves of absence during the near proximity of the enemy to Richmond can be given under any circumstances." The camps are put under extra guard, to prevent straggling. Roll-calls are ordered to "determine the presence of the men," and "immediate measures" for the return of absentees are commanded. <sup>13</sup> "A system of land defense from Drewry's Bluff, encircling the approaches to Manchester," opposite Richmond, is commenced. <sup>14</sup> On the 27th, Lee is complaining to General McLaws that "the massing of the troops toward Richmond is calculated to produce sickness among all." <sup>15</sup> On August 4 he writes the Secretary of War that "from every quarter the enemy [under McClellan] is congregating." <sup>16</sup> On the 7th he notifies General Hill that the Unionists "appear extremely active, and are making their appearance at all points bearing on the city." <sup>17</sup>

Such were the conditions and outlook when McClellan was ordered to retreat from his promised victory. On the 13th, Lee learned, through an "English deserter, of the embarkation of a part of McClellan's army." <sup>18</sup> Animation now takes the place of depression. Longstreet is

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 631

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 635

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 638

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 639

<sup>14</sup> P. 641

<sup>15</sup> P. 656

<sup>16</sup> P. 663

<sup>17</sup> P. 667

<sup>18</sup> P. 674

ordered north to Gordonsville; Hood is ordered to follow.<sup>19</sup> Anderson's division is withdrawn from Drewry's Bluff; Stuart, with his cavalry, joins the move;<sup>20</sup> and on the 15th, Lee, with the whole Confederate Army of Northern Virginia is released by Halleck's order to McClellan, and thrown upon General Pope. The defeat of Pope was now a settled fact.

The moral effect of Halleck's tactics upon the Confederate cause is best shown by a letter from Lee to Jefferson Davis, from Jeffersonton, on August 24. This is what it records:

"I think I can feed the whole army here," etc. "We shall relieve other parts of the country and employ what would be consumed and destroyed by the enemy. The theater of war will thus be changed," etc. Halleck has opened the whole of Northeastern Virginia to Lee, exposed Washington, and nearly turned Maryland and Pennsylvania over to him, having been prevented from the latter only by McClellan at Antietam. And while our own "Boys in Blue" were nearly starving, 15,000 of them were placed "hors du combat" in that campaign, while those who finally emerged came out ragged, worn out, and enfeebled from short rations and over-work. During the whole period the North was furnishing arms, artillery, and ammunition, together with quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance stores to the Confederates without stint.

McClellan's appeal to Halleck for permission to move against the Confederate capital is to be found in the "Official Records," Series I, Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 8 and 9. As its length precludes the insertion in its entirety, parts of the opening and closing are now presented. He says:

"I must confess that it [Halleck's order] has caused me the greatest pain I ever experienced, for I am convinced that the order to withdraw this army to Aquia Creek will prove disastrous in the extreme to our cause. I fear it will prove fatal. . . . This army is now in excellent discipline and condition. We are free to act in any direction, and our communications are now secure."

After showing that our army was not likely to meet with any opposition until within ten miles of Richmond, that the retreat would demoralize the army, that they were ordered to march 125 miles to reach a point still farther away from Richmond, that they would lose the valuable aid of the gunboats and water transportation, and that it would influence foreign powers against us, he concludes:

<sup>19</sup> P. 675

<sup>20</sup> P. 676

"It is here on the bank of the James River that the fate of the Union should be decided. Clear in my conviction of right, strong in the consciousness that I have ever been and still am actuated solely by love of my country, knowing that no ambitious or selfish motives have influenced us from the commencement of this war, I do now what I never did in my life before, I entreat that this order may be rescinded. If my counsel does not prevail, I will, with a sad heart, obey your orders to the utmost of my power, devoting to the movement—one of the utmost delicacy and difficulty—whatever skill I may possess, whatever the result may be, and may God grant that I am mistaken in my forebodings. I shall at least have the internal satisfaction that I have written and spoken frankly, and have sought to do the best in my power to avert disaster to my country.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,  
Major General."

Sir Garnet Wolseley, afterwards Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the British army, who was an "observer" with the Confederate Army, in 1862, declared his belief that McClellan would have captured Richmond if Halleck had let him alone.<sup>21</sup>

And even Halleck himself could not defend his error. In a letter to Pope, dated November 7, 1862, he writes:

"There is an evident intention to blame me for bringing any of McClellan's army from the Peninsula. That is to be made the real point of attack. You will soon hear the opening of the newspaper batteries on me. You may occasionally get a stray shot. We must both be patient. It will all come right in the end. If you were here [Washington], you would see why silence just now is far the better course."<sup>22</sup>

They waited till it blew over.

Unfortunately for history, no dependence whatever can be placed upon any of Halleck's official reports. They have been formulated with consummate skill; and in view of his general characteristics, which are vouched for by the ablest generals of the Civil War, including Grant and Sherman, it must seem that his dispatches were purposely constructed so as to deceive and mislead even when he wrote the truth. They were prepared so as to convey one impression to the general in the field and a

<sup>21</sup> Vide Wolseley's introduction to Colonel Henderson's work, "Stonewall Jackson."

<sup>22</sup> O. R., Vol. XII, Part III, p. 324

totally different impression to those to whom he might be called upon to make an accounting for his conduct. To illustrate: In a letter to Secretary Stanton, dated August 30, 1862, he wrote:

"As shown in my correspondence, I was most earnestly pressing him [McClellan] to move quickly."<sup>23</sup> This conveys the idea that McClellan was delaying the withdrawal of his army, whereas Halleck was actually withholding the vessels, or sending them, improperly fitted, equipped or supplied. Some were without water for men and animals, and water was very difficult to obtain both at Fort Monroe and at Yorktown, the shipping points. But Halleck was urging, pressing, expostulating, scolding.

On August 9, he telegraphed McClellan:

"I am of the opinion that the enemy is massing his forces in front of Generals Pope and Burnside, and that he expects to crush them and move forward to the Potomac. You must send reinforcements instantly to Aquia Creek. Considering the amount of transportation at your disposal, your delay is not satisfactory. You must move with all possible celerity."<sup>24</sup>

On the next day, August 10, 12 P. M., he telegraphed: "The enemy is crossing the Rapidan in large force. They are fighting General Pope to-day. There must be no further delay in your movements. That which has already occurred was entirely unexpected, and must be satisfactorily explained. Let not a moment's time be lost, and telegraph me daily what progress you have made in executing the order to transfer your troops."<sup>25</sup>

And still again Halleck telegraphs: "August 12, 1862, 12 M.: The quartermaster-general informs me that nearly every available steam vessel in the country is now under your control. . . . There has been and is the most urgent necessity for dispatch, and not a single moment must be lost in getting additional troops in front of Washington."<sup>26</sup>

To anyone unacquainted with all the facts it would appear that Halleck was supremely anxious, and that McClellan was extremely dilatory. The latter seemed to be nonplussed; for he telegraphed Halleck on the 10th:

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 739

<sup>24</sup> O. R., Vol. XI, Part I, p. 85

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 86

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 87

"You are probably laboring under some great mistake as to the amount of transportation available here."

Again he telegraphs Halleck, on the 12th:

"I am sure you have been misinformed as to the availability of vessels on hand," etc.

Well might McClellan have been mystified, receiving such messages. But time and distance, and Halleck's subsequent actions, have cleared away the mist. What Halleck was doing was this:

He was manufacturing testimony. His messages, laid before the President by the Secretary of War, would mislead Mr. Lincoln into the belief that Halleck was vainly striving to hurry McClellan, while the latter was delaying the movement. He knew that McClellan was short of vessels, which were being delayed just as the pontoons were afterward delayed at Fredericksburg. And, as Burnside had been held in check at Falmouth until Lee could come up and fortify Marye's Heights behind Fredericksburg, across the river, so now was McClellan kept back by want of vessels until Lee could move his troops from Richmond to the Rapidan, across the Rapidan to the Rappahannock, across the Rappahannock, and on to Bull Run and the defeat of Pope.

Halleck certainly knew McClellan was without means of shipping either men or material. On August 3, he had telegraphed McClellan, "You will assume control of all the means of transportation within your reach, and apply to the naval forces for all the assistance they can render you."<sup>27</sup> On August 5, Commodore Wilkes, commanding the naval forces on the James River, wrote the Secretary of the Navy: "The aid I could give General McClellan in a retrograde movement would be comparatively trifling, and I have no transportation to offer."<sup>28</sup>

Following are some of McClellan's telegrams, showing what he was doing:

August 5, 7 A. M. "With the means at my command, no human power could have moved the sick in the time you say you expected them to be moved."<sup>29</sup>

August 7, 10:40 P. M. "I report the number of sick sent off since I received your order, as follows: 3740, including some that are embarked to-night and will leave in the morning. The number still to be

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 81

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., Part III, p. 357

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., Part I, p. 82

shipped is, as nearly as can be ascertained, 5700. The embarkation of five batteries of artillery, with their horses, wagons, etc., required most of our available boats, except the ferryboats. All the transports that can ascend to this place have been ordered up; they will be here to-morrow evening. Colonel Ingalls [Chief Quartermaster, Army of the Potomac] reports to me that there are no transports now available for cavalry," etc.<sup>80</sup>

August 10, 8 A. M. "The batteries sent to Burnside took the last available transport yesterday morning."<sup>81</sup>

On August 10, Captain C. G. Sawtelle, Assistant Quartermaster, telegraphed General M. C. Meigs, Quartermaster-General at Washington: "On the night of the 8th inst., I dispatched eleven steamers, principally small ones, and six schooners, with five batteries of heavy horse artillery, none of which have yet returned. . . . To transport the 1000 cavalry to-day will take all the available steamers here not engaged in the service of the harbor. . . . If you could cause a more speedy return of the steamers sent away from here it would facilitate matters."<sup>82</sup>

August 10, 11:30 P. M., McClellan telegraphed Halleck:

"A large number of transports for all arms of the service should at once be sent to Yorktown and Fort Monroe. . . . I fear you do not realize the difficulty of the operation proposed. The regiment of cavalry for Burnside has been in course of embarkation to-day and to-night. Ten steamers were required for the purpose. Twelve hundred and fifty-eight sick loaded to-day and to-night. Our means are exhausted, except one vessel returning to Fort Monroe in the morning, which will take some 500 cases of slight sickness."<sup>83</sup>

It will be noted that McClellan was working night and day to move that vast army of 106,000 men, with its immense trains of artillery and wagons, containing camp equipage, and ordnance, commissary and quartermaster supplies, more than forty miles long. And still again McClellan telegraphs to Halleck:

August 11, 11:30 P. M. "The embarkation of 850 cavalry and one brigade of infantry will be completed by 2 o'clock in the morning. Five hundred sick were embarked to-day. Another vessel has arrived to-night, and 600 more sick are now being embarked. I still have some 4000

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 84

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 85

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 85

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 86



sick to dispose of. You have been grossly misled as to the amount of transportation at my disposal. . . . I repeat that I have lost no time in carrying out your orders." <sup>34</sup>

There is no evidence on record that Halleck was misled. It shows rather that he falsified. The foregoing accounts of the night and day work down to August 11, are only parts of some telegrams sent to him. And yet, in his official report, he says: "The evacuation of Harrison's Landing, however, was not commenced until the 14th, eleven days after it was ordered." <sup>35</sup>

Indeed the official records show clearly that Halleck did not want to know the truth, did not want to co-operate with McClellan, for on the 12th of August McClellan wired, asking him to be at the telegraph office on the next day for a talk. The wires being down, McClellan was obliged to travel seventy miles. Halleck was in the telegraph office at Washington, and McClellan had gone down to Cherrystone Inlet, on the eastern shore of Virginia. McClellan opened with one dispatch as follows:

"CHERRYSTONE INLET, *August 14, 1862, 11:30 P. M.*

Please come to office; wish to talk with you. What news from Pope?"

Communication being opened, McClellan continued:

"Started to Jamestown Island to talk with you; found cable broken, and came here. Please read my long telegram. All quiet at camp. Enemy burned wharves at City Point yesterday. No rebel pickets within eight miles of Coggins's Point yesterday. Richmond prisoners state that large force, with guns, left Richmond northward on Sunday."

But even then Halleck did not give McClellan an opportunity to explain the object of his long journey. He left the office immediately after sending the following to McClellan:

"I have read your despatch. There is no change of plans. You will send your troops as rapidly as possible. According to your own accounts" [mark this well; it is the very reverse of the truth, and Halleck knew it] "there is now no difficulty in withdrawing your forces. Do so with all possible rapidity."

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 86

<sup>35</sup> O. R., Vol. XII, Part II, p. 6

Surely, if Halleck had wanted to know the truth, here was an opportunity. If he wanted to aid in getting these troops to Pope, here was his chance. Nothing can be clearer than this: He was throwing obstacles in the way of transporting the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula to the aid of Pope, while McClellan was working night and day to save the army he had organized, to protect the men from death and the immense amount of material from destruction.

And yet Halleck's obstacles were only beginning to show themselves. Arrived at Aquia Creek, Halleck, by a series of falsehoods, kept McClellan, Burnside, and Porter in ignorance of Pope's whereabouts, and sent Porter on a wild errand hunting for Pope, wiring time and time again that he did not know the latter's location, although he was receiving dispatches daily, and sometimes three or four times daily, not only informing him of Pope's location, but also, in some instances, of his proposed movements.

On the one side was Pope, wildly calling for reinforcements; on the other were McClellan, Porter, and Burnside, striving to reach him with their troops. But between them stood Halleck, wilfully deceiving both sides, and keeping them apart. At 6 A. M., on August 24, McClellan had arrived at Aquia Creek, and reported by wire to Halleck in Washington, asking for instructions.<sup>36</sup> Again, at noon, he wired. Halleck responded as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 24, 1862, 12:30 P. M.*

Major General McClellan: Porter and Reno should hold the line of the Rappahannock below Pope, subject, for the present, to his orders. I hope by to-morrow to be able to give you some more definite directions. You know my main object, and will act accordingly.

H. W. HALLECK,  
General-in-Chief."<sup>37</sup>

Again, at 1:44 P. M., Halleck wired McClellan: "I hear nothing of Porter and Reynolds. They should hold the Rappahannock."<sup>38</sup>

It is obvious that if McClellan's forces were to "hold the line of the Rappahannock below Pope," their commander should know where Pope was. And, therefore, McClellan sent the following to Halleck:

<sup>36</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. I, p. 93

<sup>37</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XII, Part III, p. 645

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 646

" HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

AQUIA CREEK, *August 24, 1862, 2 P. M.*

" Major-General Halleck, Commanding U. S. Army.

Morell's scouts report Rappahannock Station burned and abandoned by Pope without any notice to Morell or Sykes [Porter's division commanders]. This was telegraphed you some hours ago. Reynolds, Reno, and Stevens are supposed to be with Pope, as nothing can be heard of them to-day. Morell and Sykes are near Morrisville postoffice watching the lower fords of the Rappahannock, with no troops between them and Rappahannock Station, which is reported abandoned by Pope. Please inform me immediately where Pope is and what doing; until I know that I cannot regulate Porter's movements. He is much exposed now, and decided measures should be taken at once. . . .

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,  
Major General." <sup>39</sup>

Porter was in danger, and Halleck knew it. Halleck had put him there, and was keeping him exposed.

In the evening, McClellan telegraphed as follows:

" FALMOUTH, VA., *August 24, 1862, 9:40 P. M.*  
(Received 10 P. M.)

Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief:

Please inform me exactly where General Pope's troops are, that I may know what part of the Rappahannock is to be crossed from here, and what transportation is necessary to supply the troops going to join him. Up to what point is the Orange and Alexandria Railroad now available? Where are the enemy in force?

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,  
Major-General." <sup>40</sup>

To that dispatch came the following astonishing reply:

" WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 24, 1862.*

Major-General McClellan, Falmouth, Va.:

You ask me for information which I cannot give. I do not know either where General Pope is or where the enemy in force is. These are matters which I have all day been most anxious to ascertain.

H. W. HALLECK,  
General-in-Chief." <sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 93

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 646

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

After this, Halleck again wires McClellan:

“WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 24, 1862.*

Major-General McClellan, Falmouth:

There is nothing more to communicate to-night. I do not expect to hear from Pope before to-morrow. Will telegraph you at Aquia. Good-night!

H. W. HALLECK,  
General-in-Chief.”<sup>42</sup>

The truth is that at 8:40 that very morning Halleck had received a dispatch from Pope, dated 10 P. M. the previous evening, near Warrenton.<sup>43</sup>

Again, at 3:45 P. M., on August 24, Pope had wired Halleck from Warrenton, saying he would probably move his headquarters to Warrenton Junction on the next day, 25th.<sup>44</sup>

Still again, at 9 P. M. on that same day, Pope again wired Halleck from Warrenton.<sup>45</sup>

And further, at 10 P. M., Pope again wired Halleck from Warrenton.<sup>46</sup>

Four times during that day did Halleck hear from Pope at Warrenton. Four times that day did McClellan wire Halleck, asking Pope's whereabouts. Four times that day did Halleck wire McClellan, withholding the necessary information, and in two of those messages Halleck wilfully and deliberately falsified, saying that he did not know where Pope was.

For three days and two nights, McClellan, together with his staff and headquarters, with their attachés and guard, remained on board vessel at Aquia Creek, waiting to learn from Halleck, in Washington, where Pope and the enemy were, and were misled by the general-in-chief. For this gross falsehood, neglect and mismanagement, which delayed reinforcements to Pope, no one but Halleck was responsible.

But McClellan, who had been ordered to “hold the Rappahannock

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 64

<sup>43</sup> O. R., Series I, Vol. XII, Part II, p. 62

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., Part III, p. 640

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 641

below Pope," telegraphs Halleck again. The dates, even to the hour, should now be carefully noted:

"FALMOUTH, VA., *August 24, 1862, midnight.*  
Major-General Halleck:

Are you in communication with Warrenton Junction, and are Pope's forces in advance of Warrenton Junction?

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,  
Major-General."<sup>47</sup>

Five minutes afterward, Halleck sent a reply bristling with falsehood. Here it is:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 24, 1862.*  
(Sent August 25, 12:05 A. M.)

Major-General McClellan:

General Pope did not retreat from Rappahannock Station, but advanced and attacked the enemy near Sulphur Springs, and is now in pursuit. What we intend is to hold the line of the Rappahannock until all our forces can get together. Your operations are to be directed to this object. Kearny is at Warrenton Junction, but Pope is near Waterloo Bridge. There is no telegraph line to him. H. W. HALLECK."<sup>48</sup>

R. N. ARPE.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 646

(*To be continued.*)

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### LETTER OF AN UNKNOWN BRITISH OFFICER

[Giving a description of the Battle of Brandywine, and a most vivid and graphic account of the Massacre of Paoli. The original was sold at auction recently, and now belongs to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by permission of which we print it. It is by far the fullest account of the Paoli massacre that has yet appeared.]

From the Camp on the Field of Battle near Dilworth, on the heights of Brandy Wine, September 11<sup>th</sup> at night.

I shou'd have written to Thee o Imperiel—consider the pain of the contusion! What *excessive* fatigue—a rapid march from 4 o'clock in the morning till four in the eve, when we engaged—till Dark we fought. Describe the Battle—'Twas not like those of Covent Garden or Drury Lane. Thou has seen Le Bruns paintings and the Tapestry perhaps at Blenheim—are these natural resemblances? pshaw—quoth *The Captain* in un mot. There was a most infernal Fire of cannon & musketry, most

incessant shouting—incline to the right! incline to the left! halt! charge &c. The balls ploughing up the ground. The Trees cracking over ones heads. The branches riven by the artillery—The leaves falling as in autumn by the grapeshot. The affair was general. The Mistaken on both sides shew'd conduct. The action was general. Mr. Washington retreated (*i. e.* ran away) and Mr. Howe remained Master of the Field. We took ten pieces of cannon & a Howitzer—8 were brass—the other two iron of a new construction. I took a high cap lined with fur which I find very comfortable in the now “not Summer evenings in my Tent.” A ball glanced against my ankle & contused it. For some days I was lifted on Horseback in Men's Arms—understand, I do not write from the Camp on the Field of Battle &c., &c., neither do I write in the month of September. Since the above Date I have been in a more bloody affair.

At midnight on the 22<sup>d</sup> of Septm<sup>br</sup> the Batt which I serve in (the 2<sup>d</sup> of Light Infantry) supported by Three Regiments & some Dragoons, surprised a Camp of the Rebels consisting of 1500 men & bayoneted (we hear) from 4 to 500. The affair was admirably conceived and executed. I will (as it is remarkable) particularize—I was relieved from picquet at Sunset (the preceding sunset I mounted) and was waked at nine at night to go on the bloody business. The men were ordered to unload—on no account to fire. We took a circuit in Dead silence. About one in the morning fell in with a rebel vadet (a vadet is a Horse Centinel) who challenged three times and fired. He was pursued but escaped. Soon after two foot Centrys challenged and fired—who escaped also. We then marched on briskly still silent—our Company was advanced immediately preceeding a Company of Riflemen<sup>1</sup> who always are in front—a picquet fired upon us at the distance of fifteen yards miraculously without effect. This unfortunate Guard was instantly dispatched by the Riflemen's swords. We rushed on through a thick wood and received a smart fire from another unfortunate Picquet, as the first instantly massacred. We then saw their wigwams or Huts partly by almost extinguished light of their fires & partly by the light of a few stars & the frightened wretches endeavouring to form, we then charged. For two miles we drove them now and then firing scatteringly from behind fences Trees &c. The flashes of the pieces had a fine effect in the night—then followed a dreadful scene of Havock. The Light Dragoons came on

<sup>1</sup>This was probably the corps known as Ferguson's Riflemen, as they were engaged at Brandywine and commanded by Captain Patrick Ferguson, killed at King's Mountain.]

Sword in Hand—the shrieks, groans, shouting, imprecations, deprecations, the clashing of swords & bayonets &c., &c. (no firing from us & little from them except now and then a few as I said before scattering shots) was more expressive of Horror than are the Thunder of the artillery &c on the Day of action. They threaten retaliation, vow that they will give no quarter to any of our Battalions—We are always on the advanced Post of the army—our present one is unpleasant—our left too open & unguarded. We expect reinforcements.

There has been firing this night all round the Centrys, which seems as they endeavour to feel our situation. I am fatigued & must sleep. Coud'st *Thou* sleep thus? No more than I cou'd act Sir Wildair in a ship on fire—nor I at first (*entre nous*) but Tyrant Custom &c., yet my rest is interrupted—I wake once or twice, my Ear is susceptible of the least noise.

Mr. Washington by the account of some come in today is eighteen miles distant with his main Body [Pennypacker's Mills]—they also say He intends to move nearer us resolved to try the event of another Battle. He has been reinforced. Before the action of the 11th. of Sept<sup>m</sup> & the nocturnal bloody scene our Battalion had a skirmish with Gen<sup>l</sup> Maxwell's light Troops whom we drove from a very strong pass on the Iron Hills.

N. B. I write from Camp near Beggarstown [Germantown] seven miles distant from Philadelphia, which is garrisoned at present by the British & Hessian Grenediers under Lord Cornwallis—I have been there once—it is a fine environ.

Octob<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>, midnight, in my Tent.

---

LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO LUND WASHINGTON, MANAGER OF THE  
ESTATE OF MOUNT VERNON

[This important letter, written only a few days before the battle of Long Island, shows Washington in an interesting light not only as the soldier, but as the planter and the lover of trees—the country gentleman, in a word.]

NEW YORK, *Aug<sup>t</sup>. 19th 1776.*

DEAR LUND,

Very unexpectedly to me, another revolving Monday is arrived before an attack upon this City, or a movement of the Enemy—the reason of this is incomprehensible to me—True it is (from some late informations) they expect another arrival of about 5000 Hessians; but then, they have been stronger than the army under my command; which will with men I expect, gain strength faster than theirs, as the Militia are begin-

ning to come in fast, and have already augmented our numbers in this City and the Posts round about to to about 23,000 men. There is something exceedingly misterious in the conduct of the Enemy. Lord Howe takes pains to throw out, upon every occasion that he is the Messenger of Peace—that he wants to accommodate matters—nay, has Insinuated that he thinks himself authorized to do it upon the terms mentioned in the last Petition to the King of G. Britain. But has the Nation got to that, that the King or his Ministers will openly dispense with Acts of Parliament—and if they durst attempt it, how is it to be accounted for that after running the Nation to some Millions of Pounds Sterls. to hire and transport Foreigners, and before a blow is struck, they are willing to give the terms proposed by Congress before they, or we, had encountered the enormous expense—I say how is this to be accounted for but from their having received some disagreeable advices from Europe, or by having some manouvre in view which is to be effected by procrastination. What this can be, the Lord knows. We are now past the middle of August, and they are in possession of an Island only, which it never was in our power, or Intention to dispute their landing upon. This is but a small step towards the conquest of this Continent. The two ships which were up this River about the middle of the past Month, came down yesterday, sadly frightened I believe, the largest of them, the Phoenix, (a 44-Gun Ship) having very narrowly escaped burning the night before by two Fire ships which I sent up; one of which was grapnal'd to her for Ten Minutes in a light blaze, before the Phoenix could cut away so as to clear herself—the other Fire ship run on board of the Tender near the Phoenix, & soon reduced her to ashes. We lost no lives in the attempt unless the Capn of the Ship which made the attempt upon the Phoenix perish'd—we have not heard of him since, but it is thought he might have made his escape by swimming, which was the Plan he had in contemplation.

As the collection of Mercer's Bonds has not been put into the hands of Col Peyton, I have no objection to your undertaking of it if Col Tayloe has none; accordingly I enclose you a letter to him on this subject, which you may forward, & act agreeable to his Instructions, and appointment. I do not recollect enough of the Tenor of the Bonds to decide absolutely in the case of Major Powell.—true it is, the design of making the Bonds carry Interest from the date, was to enforce the punctual payment of them; or, to derive an advantage if they were not. The circumstances attending his going to Hampton & the time when he did, I know not—He knew that those Bonds were payable to Tayloe &



me—he knew that they became due (to the best of my recollection) the first of December, & should have tendered the money at that time in strictness—however if you have the collection, in all matters of that kind take Col Tayloe's or (which I believe will be the same thing) Mr. Jas. Mercer's opinion as it will be impossible for me to determine these matters at the distance I am and under the hurry of business I am engaged in

There is no doubt but that the Honey locust if you could procure seeds enough, & that seed would come up, will make (if sufficiently thick) a very good Hedge—so will the Haw, or thorn, and if you cannot do better I wish you would try these—but cedar or any kind of Ever green would look better; how'r if one thing will not do, we must try another, as no time ought to be lost, in rearing of Hedges, not only for ornament but use.

Adams's land you will continue to Rent to the best advantage, for I believe it will turn out that I made bad worse, by attempting to save myself by taking that pretty youth's debts upon myself—

As Lord Dunmore and his Squadron have join'd the Fleet at Staten Island, you will, I should think, have a favourable opportunity of sending off your Flour, Middlings, ship stuff, &c—Corn will, more than probably, sell well some time hence—especially if your crops should be as short as you apprehend—If your shipstuff & Middlings should have turned sower it will make exceeding good Bisquet notwithstanding—Your works ab't the Home House will go on slowly I fear as your Hands are reduced, & especially if Knowles falls—remember that the New Chimneys are not to smoke.—Plant Trees in the room of all dead ones in proper time this Fall,—and as I mean to have groves of trees at each end of the dwelling House, that at the South end is to range in a line from the South East Corner to Colo Fairfax's, extending as low as another line from the stable to the dry well, and towards the Coach House, Hen House, & Smoak House as far as it can go for a Lane to be left for carriages to pass to & from the Stable and wharf.—from the No E't Corner of the other end of the House to range so as to shew the Barn, &c in the Neck—from the point where the old Barn used to stand to the No E't corner of the other end of the Smith's shop, & from thence to the Servants Hall, leaving a passage between the Quarters & Shop and so East of the Spinning & Weaving House (as they used to be called) up to a wood pile, & so into the yard between the Servts Hall & the House newly erected—these Trees to be Planted without any

order or regularity (but pretty thick, as they can at any time be thin'd) and to consist, that at the North End of locusts altogether, & that at the South, of all the clever kind of trees (especially flowering ones) that can be got, such as Crab apple Poplar, Dog Wood, Sasafras, Laurel, Willow, (especially Yellow & Weeping willow, twigs of which may be got from Philadelphia) and many others which I do not recollect at present—these to be interspersed here and there with ever greens such as Holly, Pine, and Cedar, also Ivy—to these may be added the wild flowering shrubs of the larger kind, such as the fringe Tree & several other kinds that might be mentioned.—It will not do to Plant the Locust Trees at the North end of the House till the Framing is up, cover'd in, and the Chimney Built—otherwise it will be labour lost as they will get broke down, defaced and spoil'd—But nothing need prevent planting the shrubbery at the other end of the House—Wherever these are planted they should be Inclos'd which may be done in any manner till I return—or rather by such kind of fencing as used to be upon the Ditch running towards Hell Hole—beginning at the Kitchen & running towards the Stable & rather passing the upper Corner—thence round the Dry Well—and so on to the Hollow by the wild cherry tree by the old barn—thence to the Smith's Shop & so up to the Servants Hall as before described—If I should ever fulfill my Intention it will be to Inclose it properly—the Fence now described is only to prevent Horses &c. Injuring the young Trees in their growth.

As my Greys are almost done, and I have got two or three pretty good Bays here, I do not Incline to make an absolute sale of the bay horse you mention—But if Mr. Custis wants him, & you and he can fix upon a price, he may take him at such valuation as his own, subject however to return him to me if I should hereafter want him and will repay him his money—by this means he will (if it should not prove an absolute sale) have the use of the Horse and I, the use of the Money. Before I conclude I must beg of you to hasten Lanphire about the addition to the No. end of the House, otherwise you will have it open I fear in the cold and wet weather, and the Brick Work to do at an Improper Season, neither of which shall I be at all desirous of. My best wishes to Milly Posey and all our Neighbours and friends—with sincere regards, I remain

Dr. Lund, Y'r affe't Friend,  
G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

## ADVERTISEMENT BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

[A notice for newspaper advertisement, in the handwriting of William Lloyd Garrison. Although the year is not given, the date, "Boston May 26,"—clearly shows that it was 1854—for it was in May of that year that occurred the celebrated case of the fugitive slave Anthony Burns, who was captured in Boston, imprisoned in the Court House, and remanded to slavery, being taken under military guard to the vessel which was to take him back to Virginia. Whittier's great poem "Moloch in State Street" commemorates this event. Few if any American autograph documents of equal length contain more important matter than does this brief but impassioned advertisement, which was the precursor by only seven years of the war which was to make a repetition of such a notice forever impossible. The original was sold at auction in New York recently.]

## A MAN KIDNAPPED.

A Public Meeting will be held at Faneuil Hall this (Friday) evening, May 26 at 7 o'clock, to secure justice for a man claimed as a slave by a Virginia Kidnapper, and imprisoned in Boston Court House, in defiance of the Laws of Massachusetts. Shall he be plunged into the Hell of Virginia slavery by a Massachusetts Judge of Probate? Boston, May 26.

---

 MINOR TOPICS
 

---

## TERCENTENARY AT THOMASTON, MAINE

On June 6th, Thomaston celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of the landing of Captain George Waymouth in 1605, his exploration of the St. George's River, and the planting of the first cross of British occupancy on New England soil at what is now Thomaston. The chief address of the day was made by the Mayor of Portland, Hon. J. P. Baxter, who is also the President of the Maine Historical Society.

The memory of the original landing of Waymouth was commemorated by the erection of a cross of granite, appropriately inscribed, on Allen's Island, and

the planting of a large boulder on the Mall (on the mainland) with a bronze tablet inscribed: To Commemorate the voyage of Captain George Waymouth to the coast of Maine in 1605, his discovery and exploration of the St. George's River and planting a cross on the northerly shore of this harbour, where "the river trended westward," the earliest known claim of Right of Possession by Englishmen on New England soil, this Tablet is erected by the Town of Thomaston, 1905.

The presence in the river of the revenue cutter Woodbury and the monitor Arkansas, which latter fired a salute of twenty-one guns, added to the interest of the day.

THE ANDRE PRISON AT TAPPAN

Among the bills before the New York Legislature last winter, which failed to pass, was one carrying an appropriation of \$20,000 for the purchase of this historic building. The Editor could but remember that about seven years ago, the property was offered to him by the then owner, who has since died, for \$1,500;

and that he tried hard to interest the Sons of the American Revolution and the Rockland County Historical Society, in the plan of buying and preserving it as a historic place—but without success. The failure of the bill is much to be regretted, however, for no other house in the State possesses more of historic interest.

---

GENEALOGICAL

---

21. *a.* HASEY—Wanted, the ancestry of Hannah, the wife of Lieut. Joseph Hasey. She died at Rumney Marsh (now Revere), Mass., Aug. 18, 1693.

*b.* RAND—Wanted, the ancestry of Hannah Rand, born May 28, 1729; married February 2, 1748, Jethro Locke, Jr., of Barrington, N. H. She died February 15, 1831, in her 102d year.

*c.* CHAMBERLAIN—Jacob Chamberlain was born at Roxbury, Mass., March 7, 1685; married, Sarah and had eleven children born at Roxbury between 1711 and 1734. Wanted, the family name and ancestry of Sarah.

*d.* POTTLE—Samuel Pottle, born about 1736, married Jane Piper and died at Stratham, N. H., in 1814. Wanted, his ancestry.

*e.* FRENCH—Joseph French, of Billerica, Mass., married November 4, 1663, Experience Foster. Their first child on the records of Billerica was Joseph, born March 25, 1667. Did they have a daughter, Experience, born in 1666?

*f.* HASEY—Lieut. William Hasey, of Boston in 1646 had a wife, Sarah, the

mother of all his children. Wanted, the family name and ancestry of Sarah.

C. 1.

22. *a.* PERKINS—Who were the parents of Lucy Perkins, who married about 1754, Isaac Andrews, of Ipswich, and Concord, Mass., and Hillsborough, N. H.?

*b.* ROBERTS—Wanted, the ancestry of Hannah Roberts, who married June 4, 1709, Nathaniel Putnam, of Salem.

*c.* ELLIOT—Wanted, the parentage of Abigail Elliot, of Boxford, who married (1) January 7, 1712-13, David Goodell, of Salem, and (2) January 19, 1719-20, Joseph Hutchinson, of Middleton.

*d.* INGALLS—Who was Elizabeth Ingalls, who married October 27, 1726, Solomon Andrews, of Ipswich?

G. 3.

23. *a.* McNAY—Wanted, the parentage of Jeane McNey or McNair, who married James Yates, of Bristol, Me., prior to 1739. She died December 31, 1803, aged 85 years. There is a tradition in the family that they were married in the vicinity of Boston.

W. 2.

24. *a.* HALE—What is the ancestry of Elisha Hale and his wife, Sybil, of Farmington, Conn. Their daughter, Eunice, married Benjamin Graves at Harwinton, Conn., August 15, 1776.

H. 2.

25. *a.* WEBB—Wanted, date of birth of Nathaniel Webb, son of Christopher and Anne (White) Webb, of Boston and Braintree.

C. 2.

26. *a.* HARDON—What is the ancestry of David Hardon or Haraden? Morse, in his Harding family (Vol. 4, Genealogical Register of Ancient Puri-

tans), states that David Hardon, 1715-1792, of Norton and Mansfield, was eldest son of Edward<sup>3</sup> Haraden (Edward<sup>2</sup>, Edward<sup>1</sup>) of Gloucester, and born presumably at Gloucester in 1715, as Edward<sup>3</sup> was married there January 13, 1713, and had children there whose births are recorded beginning 1718, among whom was William<sup>4</sup>, born December 3, 1721, who married September 10, 1750, Abigail Gray at Norton. Is there any proof that David was the son of Edward<sup>3</sup> and brother of William<sup>4</sup>?  
H. 3.

# HISTORY OF HADLEY

INCLUDING THE

EARLY HISTORY OF HATFIELD, SOUTH  
HADLEY, AMHERST AND GRANBY

MASSACHUSETTS

BY SYLVESTER JUDD

WITH FAMILY GENEALOGIES

NEW EDITION WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, ADDITIONS, AND COMPLETE INDEX, 670 PAGES

**\$6.00 NET**

EDITION LIMITED TO 1000 COPIES

H. R. HUNTING & COMPANY

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Every person interested in New England history should be grateful to your firm for having brought out a new edition of Mr. Judd's valuable History of Hadley. I am familiar with the work in its original edition and your reprint is faithful in every detail, while the additional features of George Sheldon's introduction, the illustrations, etc., give the book an added value. In typography, press work and binding, the volume is highly creditable to the publishers. There is now no reason why this splendid historical work should not be in the hands of every student of history and in every library.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD P. GUILD,

Former President of the Heath Historical Society



# A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

## PLATES OF AUDUBON'S BIRDS

Life Size

The Folio Edition (1834)

Sold Separately

OVER 200 DIFFERENT SUBJECTS  
ALL BEAUTIFULLY COLORED

Sheets are 25x40, Clean as New  
Price, from \$5.00 to 25.00 Each

Such a chance as this very seldom occurs,  
as there are very few plates to be found  
outside of the bound volumes. : : : :

### THE SUBJECTS INCLUDE

Eagles, Hawks, Owls, Cranes, Wild Geese, Gulls,  
Terns, Sandpipers, Orioles, Finches, etc., etc.

Few Libraries can afford a set of  
Audubon's Works, folio size, but this offer  
gives each an opportunity to secure a choice  
of beautiful plates, which, when framed, will  
prove a great ornament to any room. : : :

N. B.—Name Your Choice and Price Will be Quoted

ADDRESS

*The Magazine of History*

281 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

VOL. II

No. 3

THE  
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

SEPTEMBER, 1905

WILLIAM ABBATT  
281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number



A COMPLETE INDEX TO THE  
**Magazine of American History**  
1877-1893

In one Volume, sq. octavo (same size as the Magazine itself)

**PRICE \$7.50 NET**

Every student who has had occasion to consult the bound volumes of Mrs. Lamb's famous magazine has felt the need of a separate index covering the whole work, from January, 1877, to its end in September, 1893. Every librarian, also, will appreciate this handy form. It will be printed in type *two sizes larger* than the old index found in each volume, and be exactly the same size in itself, so as to agree perfectly with the bound volumes in appearance.

As soon as a reasonable number of subscriptions have been received, printing will be begun and the copies delivered as soon as possible thereafter.

**About 325-350 Pages**

As only 500 copies will be made, and the type distributed as soon as the sheets have been printed, the work will soon be out of print. Early application is therefore desirable. Address the

**MAGAZINE OF HISTORY**

With Notes and Queries

**WILLIAM ABBATT, Publisher**

**281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**





*Yondair*

ARTOTYPE E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

# THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

---

VOL. II

SEPTEMBER, 1905

No. 3

---

## THE "UNKNOWN EXILE" NOT CHARLES X

NOW that the fame of the old house on the highest of the Georgetown hills, Madison County, N. Y., has been spread abroad, the number of its visitors is rapidly increasing, so that they are counted by hundreds in the summer time. The attraction of "Muller's Hill," magnificent as is the scenery of the mountainous region, lies solely in the *chateau*, as it is called, with its traditions of a mysterious occupant nearly one hundred years ago—a refugee Frenchman—plainly a *grand seigneur*.

The general public knew almost nothing of the old house before the publication in THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, (May and June, 1893), of an article by Mr. Henry C. Maine, "An Unknown Exile: Was he Charles X?" Until then, the subject had been confined to the annals of Madison County, where it had abundant mention; but to solve the mystery and discover the name of the exile had never been attempted. Interest in the subject had been confined to Central New York. Mr. Maine's father had known the mysterious refugee—the stories he had told his son of the sojourn of the *grand seigneur* in the wilds of Georgetown had finally stimulated the research, resulting in the hypothesis, that the mysterious Frenchman was the Comte d'Artois—that he alone had sufficient motive for hiding himself in the wilderness of the New World. Comte d'Artois, Prince Royal of the house of Bourbon (afterwards Charles X., King of France)—conspirator against the life of Napoleon—he and Louis Anathe Muller were one and the same. Readers of Mr. Maine's article in support of this conclusion, will commend his painstaking study, confined as it was largely, to standard biographies of Charles X., and early annals of the period preceding the restoration of the Bourbons. The historical societies of the State of New York were more or less interested in the subject. If dis-

See August MAGAZINE OF HISTORY.

sent there was, it passed unnoted in the general approval of the theory. Madison County was not backward in adding to its history as fact that which had such plausible support in hypothesis—and lo! the sight-seers began climbing "Muller's Hill," and now almost any resident of the locality can tell you more about the Comte d'Artois—"great grandson of Louis XIV; brother of the beheaded Louis XVI; Charles X. of France," etc., than the average sight-seer is likely to have in memory, when visiting the old *chateau*.

It was in the year 1808 (to glean largely from the article aforesaid)—that a French gentleman bought over two thousand acres of land in Georgetown, paying for the same over nine thousand dollars. The deeds conveyed the property to the purchaser—Louis Anathe Muller, who made a wide clearing on the highest hill-top; and built the fortress-like house, that was maintained in fair preservation until its recent destruction. Where he came from, he never told; where he went when he disappeared, about 1813—was unknown. At that time Napoleon's star was waning—a coincidence supporting the Artois hypothesis.

Louis Anathe Muller was in middle-life in 1808. So was Artois. Both were of swarthy complexion—each had an aristocratic bearing, and carried himself with a military air. Both were notably fond of the hunt. Muller's hunters and pack, dashing across country brought a new excitement to Madison County. He had brought with him at least one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and he paid liberally for everything, and always in gold or silver. There was a wife and children; a retinue of French servants, outriders for the coach, and body servants when Monsieur rode in saddle—"at each saddle front, his own and his guards', a holster of pistols and ammunition." The walls of the old house would have stood a siege—"solid hewn timber set on end in heavy sills and keyed together"; a substantial lining of lath and plaster; large hewn rafters; seven fire-places faced with black marble; wide hallway; the furnishing unlike anything Madison County ever saw before. Many of the trees that bordered the carriage drive remain—and a few vestiges of the fish pond—and the game kennels. He built a village about a mile from the *chateau*—with a grist mill and forge—"Bronder Hollow" of to-day, the storehouse of which is now used as a horse barn; that, and the stream into which the *grand seigneur* is said to have waded in his silk stockings sometimes when fishing for trout, of great interest to visitors.

He had given proof of hot temper the day he was summoned to turn out for "general training." What! he? "A general of division, a maker of treaties?" The Comte d'Artois, at that time, wherever he was, held the appointment made by Louis XVIII., in exile, of Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of France, and could hardly have been expected to meekly follow a Yankee sergeant to muster on a village training-day. Another tradition is that Muller received by mail many foreign newspapers. These he read aloud to his workmen; his comments upon the doings of Napoleon revealing deep-seated hatred and fear. How plain it was, that the refugee was a personage of political importance, "flying before the gigantic power of the Corsican," to quote from a history of Madison County, published before 1893.

The fact that the standard biographies of Charles X., gave nothing to prove that the exiled Comte d'Artois had ever made even brief sojourn in the United States, was not, according to Mr. Maine, to be accepted as proof that he and Louis Anathe Muller were not one and the same. Concealment of his flight and whereabouts for years, was part of a scheme that Artois meant should never form part of history. With true Bourbon dissimulation and cunning, he had covered his tracks. Louis XVIII., upon leaving Hartwell, England, Mr. Maine could have told us, made a bonfire of every scrap of writing—every record of the French occupancy—that he could obtain. It was like the Bourbons to cover their tracks. Running away from Napoleon was humiliating enough without handing the fact down to posterity. How little Artois had foreseen the fierce avidity of the research ferrets of to-day.

It was a great windfall for Madison County, finding the tracks of a prince on one of its hill-tops. Where, in all the land consecrated to the Idea of Democracy did the divinity which doth hedge a King have more tangible co-existence with a house—a barn—everything on the summit of a mountain-like range? Muller Hill has been well worth climbing since that. Great is the difference between a well preserved old house, actually built and occupied for several years by a royal prince—afterwards a King of France—and any one of the venerated old houses to be seen in Maine, Pennsylvania, Northern New York or New Jersey, and elsewhere in the United States, where royalty on various occasions has been entertained or sheltered temporarily when adrift, as were the Orleans princes in exile. Even the sites of houses intended as refuges for Louis XVI., and Marie

Antoinette—the remains of those that were to shelter Napoleon could he be snatched from St. Helena, could no longer claim precedence in interest over the old *chateau* on Muller Hill.

## II

If Louis Anathe Muller was not the Comte d'Artois, who could he have been? Conjectures upon the subject are less satisfactory than entertaining. If proof by hypothesis is sufficient Mr. Maine's solution of the mystery is as good as any if not better, providing it cannot be proved that from 1804 to 1814 the Comte d'Artois *could not* have been in the United States, save for short temporary sojourns; the slow-sailing ocean craft of the period making rapid transit out of the question. Tracking a Prince Royal, one as conspicuous in history as is the Comte d'Artois, through the ten years preceding the restoration of his house—years when the allies of his cause kept in close touch with him as a leader, and when it must be believed Napoleon did not lose sight of him for a day, has been far more difficult than might be supposed. A tyro, comparatively, in historical research, soon confronted obstacles that reference "ferrets" in the leading libraries of this country and England (the Comte d'Artois lived in England during the most of his exile) did not always remove. Correspondence with sub-librarians of the Bodleian and other leading libraries, supplied lists of authorities to be consulted with helpful suggestions, etc., but "can find nothing" was the answer frequently received.

Gradually, one by one, the tracks of Artois from 1804 to 1814 were uncovered here and there and often where least expected—frequently in some passing mention found in the official or social correspondence of Artois' contemporaries; in the allusions of Memoirs and Court gossip—occasionally with substantial data of authoritative chroniclers—historians like Chateaubriand and Lamartine; the *Restoration of the Monarchy* by the latter letting in much light. From chronological records thus obtained—a pathway of tracks, vague in places, materialized—the gaps between dates never wide enough, however, to admit of Artois' having "run over" to the United States, "between times," for an occasional outing from strenuous devotion to his cause. A valuable helper in the search was found in Mrs. Elizabeth Wormley Latimer, whose acquaintance with the highways and byways of French history is seen in her *France in the Nine-*

*teenth Century*, and other historical works. *Ædes Hartwellianæ*, discovered through the present occupant of Hartwell House, Aylesbury, England, was a godsend,—a rare old book, printed in 1851, "for private circulation only,"—"occasionally to be picked up by collectors." It gives a fair account of the occupancy of Hartwell House by the royal exiles,—its lack of detail is exasperating. Happily, the State Library at Albany had a copy—Madame D'Arblay's mention of a visit to 72 South Audley Street, London, the residence of Comte d'Artois before the Restoration, one of many similar clews. It was in South Audley Street, that, according to Lamartine, Artois lived as a religious fanatic, "devoted to pious offices," and in plotting to get the better of his brother, Louis XVIII., when the time should come, for the ambitious schemes of Artois were not to be reconciled with the slow movements of the Sage of Hartwell. There were two courts of the *émigré* Royalists during the exile,—that at Hartwell, and that in London—Artois, a resident of both, watching for the collapse of the Empire, ready to be the first to enter France at the head of the army of allies, outstripping his brother in reaching the throne.

The following is a summary of the tracks gained. Each can be amply verified by authorities such as Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, Vedrennes, etc.

- 1803. Artois is in London—"remains there until the restoration." (A frequent statement in his biographies.)
- 1804. Meets Louis XVIII. in Sweden.
- 1805. Death of the Countess d'Artois. Her son, Duc de Berri, writes of the care his father gave him during a long illness following her death.
- 1806. Proof enough is to be had that he was on the ground, although not definitely to be located. That the spies and police of Napoleon kept him under surveillance after the assassination of the Duc d'Enghein is not to be questioned.
- 1807-1810. He was often at Hartwell (Louis XVII. found haven here 1807), the hope and center of conspiracies against Napoleon. He (Artois) "of all the royal exiles appeared most in public, riding much over the country, by no means popular with the Buckinghamshire gentry . . ." we read in *Ædes Hartwellianæ*. Prolonged absence would have been noted. Once in three weeks, the curious public were admitted to Hartwell House



when royalty was dining—a custom of the old French Court. Charles Gréville's account of a visit to Hartwell makes no mention of Artois. Had he been "missing" utterly, however, Gréville would presumably have commented upon it.

1810. (Muller's *chateau* must have been completed and occupied.) The Queen died at Hartwell November 8 of that year. The King in writing of the event mentions the arrival of his brother (Artois) from London.

Now comes the gap of about three years, when it is barely possible that Artois might have been in the United States. But is it to be believed that he cut himself loose from the supporters of the Bourbon cause when his presence was more important than ever?—and that, when as the historians of the Restoration assume as a matter of course, he was still trying to organize an army of refugees, to be commanded by princes—the sovereigns of Europe its allies—its righteous cause the overthrow of any and every scheme republicanism and the Senate of France might devise in case of the downfall of the Emperor and of the empire? That it will yet be fully proved by undisputable evidence that he was *not* in the United States at any time in the interval between the Queen's death and his secret departure from England (1813) for Lubeck, from whence he approached the frontier of France by way of Leipsic—may be counted upon. With the abdication of Napoleon and his exile to Elba, the refugee of Muller Hill had disappeared; perhaps to head a division of the army of the Restoration that entered Paris in 1814, the Comte d'Artois riding beside the carriage in which were seated Louis XVIII., the daughter of Marie Antoinette beside him—(the little English bonnet of the Princess impressing the Parisian populace equally with her woebegone tearful face.)

The chronological data here submitted is supported by collateral testimony, that leaves, it would seem apparent, Madison County with its mystery as unsolved as ever. Establishing beyond question the hypothesis that Artois and Muller were one and the same, would have supplemented the biography of Charles X. (most insignificant of the Bourbon Kings), with an episode surpassing in interest any other of his long life—for where is there another prince-royal of ancient lineage—a future King—whose record can show that he was once a citizen of the United States—a resident taxpayer, turning out with its militia on a training day? Charles X. of France, is to be pitied for his loss—post-mortem that it is—

if one can lose what he never had. Mrs. Latimer's suggestion as to whom Muller may possibly have been, is of interest. "From time to time," she wrote, "Frenchmen who had done gallant piratical service under Lafitte retired from that business with their plunder, and not daring to acknowledge their real names, settled as mysterious Frenchmen in various Southern States. Some were supposed to be Ney—some Murat—who had survived shooting . . ." etc.

Prince royal or ex-pirate or neither, Louis Anathe Muller has endowed with sphinx-like mystery the hill-top where he lived from 1810 to about 1814. Proving that he could not have been Comte d'Artois, will not easily displace belief that he was, until his true identity is revealed. Historical mysteries beget traditions—cherished traditions once embedded in local annals become history. The increasing number of visitors drawn every summer to the old *chateau* since it was proclaimed that a Prince Royal of the Bourbons once lived there in exile, will not decrease, nor will they readily exchange their faith in a hypothesis for an unsolved mystery. For those to whom conjecture is ever more alluring than fact when it controverts what they like to believe, the charm of Muller Hill still remains.

JANE MARSH PARKER.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.



## THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, WITH  
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE ROYAL COLONY  
OF NEW YORK.

### CHAPTER IV.

#### THE PRESS IN NEW YORK

**I**N 1734 the enmity between the two political parties in the Province, —the aristocratic, which supported Governor Cosby and was in turn supported by him, and the popular party, in which the leaders were Wm. Smith and James Alexander, had reached a point where little could be needed to introduce open violence. The Gazette, published by Wm. Bradford, was at this time a staid sheet, claiming to be neutral in party strife, but naturally under the circumstances leaning to the side of the government. To offset its influence the New York Weekly Journal was established under the editorship of John Peter Zenger in the interest of the popular party. Knowing that the strength of the party must lie in the support of the people and that this support could be given effectively only by a people who understood the issues involved, the writers for the Journal put forward the most liberal views in regard to the liberty of the press. It was not a subject which many at that time understood or took any interest in; but the effect of the long continued campaign of articles was to spread the principle not only in the province of New York but even as far away as Charleston where the matter was warmly discussed.

In the fall of 1734 the annual election of aldermen resulted in a triumph for the popular party. The court party turned on Zenger for revenge, and the Chief Justice, De Lancey, attempted to obtain an indictment against Zenger on the ground that he was provoking the citizens to commit acts of treason against the government. The grand jury having refused to do his bidding, the Governor next turned to the General Assembly. In its Minutes for Oct. 17th we find the following record:

“ A Message from the Council by Philip Cortlandt, in these words, to wit: ‘ That board having had several of Zenger’s Weekly Journals

laid before them, and other scurrilous papers, tending to alienate the people of this province from his Majesty's government, to raise seditions and tumults among the people of this province, and to fill their minds with a contempt of his Majesty's government; and considering the pernicious consequences that may attend such growing evils, if not speedily and effectively put a stop to: And conceiving that the most likely method to put a stop to such bold and seditious practices, to maintain the dignity of his Majesty's government, and to preserve the peace thereof, would be by a Conference between a Committee of this board, and a Committee of the Assembly; it is therefore ordered, that the gentlemen of this board, now assembled, or any seven of them, be a Committee to join a Committee of the House of Representatives, in order to confer together, and to examine and enquire into the said papers, and the authors and writers thereof.'

Which Message being read;

Ordered; That the Members of this House, or any fourteen of them, do meet a Committee of the Council, at the time and place therein mentioned."

On Oct. 18th the matter again is taken up:

" Mr. Gerritsen, from the Committee of this House, reported, That they had, last Night, met the Committee of the Council, on the subject Matter of their Message of Yesterday, to this House, and that after several Preliminaries between the said Committees, the Gentlemen of the Council reduced to writing, what they requested of this House, and delivered the same to the Chairman, who delivered it at the Table; and being read, is in the Words following:

' At a Committee of the Council, held the 17th of October, 1734.

#### Present

Mr. Clarke,	Mr. Kennedy,
Mr. Harrison,	Mr. Chief Justice,
Dr. Colden,	Mr. Cortlandt,
Mr. Livingston,	Mr. Lane,
Mr. Horsmanden.	

The Matters we request your Concurrence in, are that Zenger's Papers, No. 7, 47, 48, 49, and two printed Ballads, which were read, and which we now deliver to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, as containing in them many things Derogatory of the Dignity of his Majesty's Government, Reflections upon the Legislature, and upon the most considerable Persons in the most distinguished Stations in this Province, and tending to raise Sedition and Tumults among the People thereof. That you concur with us in addressing the Governor to issue his Proclamation, with a Promise of Reward, for the Discovery of the Authors or Writers of these seditious Libels.

That you concur with us in an Order for prosecuting the Printer thereof.

That you concur with us in an Order to the Magistrates, to exert themselves in the execution of their Offices, in order to preserve the public Peace of the Province.

Per Order of the Committee.

FREDERICK MORRIS,  
Dep. Col. Council.'

Mr. Garritsen delivered likewise to the House, the several Papers referred to in the said Request.

Ordered, That the said Papers be lodged with the Clerk of this House, and that the Consideration thereof, and of the said Request, be referred to Tuesday next."

And again on Oct. 22d:

"The House, (according to Order) proceeded to take into Consideration, the Request of a Committee of the Council, delivered to a Committee of this House, on the 18th instant; as likewise of the several Papers therein referred to, and after several Debates upon the subject matter thereof, it was,

Ordered, That the said Request and Papers lie on the Table."

The Council, finding the Assembly would take no action in the matter, sent the following message to the House: <sup>19</sup>

"A Message from the Council, by Mr. Livingston, desiring the House to return, (by him) to that Board, the several seditious Journals

<sup>19</sup> Nov. 2, 1734, Minutes of General Assembly.

of Zenger's, No. 7, 47, 48, 49, and two printed Ballads, which were delivered by a Committee of that Board, to a Committee of this House, the seventeenth of October last, together with the Proposals of the Committee of that Board, delivered therewith, to a Committee of this House; and then he withdrew.

Ordered, That the Clerk of this House, produce the said Papers; then Mr. Livingston being called in, Mr. Speaker delivered to him all the said Papers and Proposals, accordingly, and then he withdrew."

The next extract is from the Minutes of the Legislative Council for Nov. 2d, 1734.

"In pursuance of an Order of this Board of the 17th of October last, a Committee of this Board having met a Committee of the House of Representatives . . . but the Board, finding by a Journal of the Votes of that House, that the matters proposed to their Committee were ordered to lye on the table, and conceiving it highly necessary to give a Check to such virulent and seditious Libells, as are dispersed throughout Zenger's Journal to maintain the dignity of his Majesty's Government, and to preserve the peace thereof, they therefore resolved into a Committee to consider of the same. On which his Excellency withdrew.

The Committee having duely weighed and considered the same, and finding that the whole tenour of most (if not all) of those papers now under their consideration, and particularly those Journalls entitled "The New York Weekly Journall, Containing the Freshest advices foreign and domestick," printed by said Zenger and numbered 7, 47, 48, 49, have a direct tendency to raise Sedition and Tumults among the people of this Province, to inflame their minds with a Contempt of his Majesty's rightful Government, and Just prerogative, and disturb the peace thereof, and containing in them likewise not only reflections upon his Excellency the Governor in particular, the Legislature in general, but also upon the most considerable persons in the most distinguished stations in this province. It is therefore unanimously

Resolved, by this Committee that those Journalls of Zenger as above mentioned be burnt by the hands of the common hangman or whipper near the pillory in this city on Wednesday the 6th instant, between the hours of Eleven and twelve in the forenoon, that the Sheriff be ordered to see it effectually done, and that the Mayor and other Magistrates of this city do attend at the burning thereof.

That his Excellency be requested to issue his Proclamation with a reward of £50 for the discovery of the author or authors of said Journalls.

That Zenger the printer thereof be by order of this Board taken into custody by the Sheriff and Committed to prison.

That an Order of this Board be sent to the Magistrates of the respective Countys within this province diligently to exert themselves in the execution of their respective offices in order to preserve the publick peace.

And on the Chief Justice withdrawing it is further

Resolved, that an Order of the Board be sent to the Attorney General to prosecute the printer and Author or Authors thereof when discovered.

His Excellency returning to the Council Chamber the above resolutions were read and reported at the Board by Mr. Clarke, Chairman of the Committee, and

On the Question being put, the same was unanimously agreed to and approved of by this Board."

The Mayor and Magistrates refused either to attend the burning or to allow the hangman to be present, and accordingly the work was done by a negro servant of the Sheriff while a small group from the court party looked on. Zenger was then arrested, and after being released on excessive bail, and the grand jury having refused to find a bill, he was finally brought to trial, on an Information of the Attorney General, for printing and publishing parts of the Journals Nos. 13 and 23, as being false, scandalous, malicious and seditious. The passages specifcately objected to were the following; the first, in No. 13;—"Your appearance in print, at last, gives a pleasure to many, though most wish you had come fairly into the open field, and not appeared behind retrenchments made of the supposed laws against libelling, and of what other men have said and done before. These retrenchments, gentlemen, may soon be shown to you, and all men, to be weak, and to have neither law nor reason for their foundation, so cannot long stand you in stead; Therefore you had much better as yet leave them, and come to what the people of this city and province think are the points in question; they think, as matters now stand, that their liberties and properties are pre-

carious, and that slavery is like to be entailed upon them and their posterity, if some past thing be not amended; and this they collect from many past proceedings;" and the second in No. 23;—"One of our neighbors," (from New Jersey) "being in company, observing the strangers" (from New York), "full of complaints, endeavored to persuade them to remove into New Jersey; to which it was replied, That would be leaping out of the frying-pan into the fire; for, says he, we both are under the same governor, and your assembly have shewn with a witness what is to be expected from them; one that was then moving to Pennsylvania, to which place it is reported several considerable men are removing, expressed in terms very moving, much concern for the circumstances of New York, seemed to think them very much owing to the influence that some men had in the administration, said he was now going from them, and was not to be hurt by any measures they should take, but could not help having some concern for the welfare of his countrymen, and should be glad to hear that the Assembly would exert themselves as became them, by showing that they have the interest of their country more at heart, than the gratification of any private view of any of their members, or being at all affected by the smiles or frowns of a governor, both which ought equally to be despised, when the interest of their country is at stake. You, says he, complain of the lawyers, but I think the law itself is at an end. We see men's deeds destroyed, judges arbitrarily displaced, new courts erected without consent of the legislature, by which it seems to me, trials by jury are taken away when a governor pleases, men of known estates denied their votes, contrary to the received practice, the best exposition of any law; Who is then in that province that can call anything his own, or enjoy any liberty, longer than those in the administration will condescend to let them do it, for which reason I have left it, as I believe more will."

James Alexander and Wm. Smith, the lawyers defending Zenger, were disbarred by Chief Justice De Lancey for questioning the legality of the commission of the court, and it was thought that Zenger must be convicted since there was no one in the province of equal ability to defend him. But Andrew Hamilton, the most famous lawyer of the times in Pennsylvania, was summoned from Philadelphia and took charge of the case. He began by admitting the fact of publication: "I cannot think it proper for me," he said, "(without doing violence to my own principles), to deny the publication of a complaint, which, I think, is the right of every free born citizen to make, when the matters so published can be



supported with truth." But when the Attorney General, at this admission, called at once for a conviction, Hamilton replied, "Not so, neither, Mr. Attorney, you have something more to do; the words must be proved libellous, that is, false, scandalous, and seditious, or else they are not guilty."

The scene that ensued was a remarkable one. On one side were the Chief Justice and the Attorney General, taking the position that the only question before the jury was the fact of publication; and that the maxim "The greater the truth the greater the libel" held, the defendant not being permitted to give the truth of the libel, in evidence:—on the other side was Hamilton, arguing that the Star Chamber practice had died with the Star Chamber, and that the jury had the right to determine both the law and the fact. Speaking of the position in which men were placed when wronged by those in authority, he said,

"It is natural, it is a privilege,—I will go farther, it is a right which all free men claim, and are entitled to, to complain when they are hurt; they have a right publicly to remonstrate against the abuses of power, in the strongest terms, to put their neighbors upon their guard against the craft or open violence of men in authority, and to assert with courage the sense they have of the blessings of liberty, the value they put upon it, and their resolution at all hazards to preserve it, as one of the greatest blessings heaven can bestow . . . . I beg leave to insist that the right of complaining or remonstrating is natural; and the restraint upon this natural right is the law only, and that those restraints can only extend to what is false . . . . Truth ought to govern the whole affair of libels."

He then went on to show how difficult it was to determine precisely what a libel was, and in exactly what it consisted, illustrating his remarks from different periods of English history to prove how ideas had changed, and after dwelling on the danger of lodging an excess of power in any man, as in giving a judge on the bench the right to determine the law in a libel case, he added,

"Power may justly be compared to a great river; while kept within its due bounds, it is both beautiful and useful; but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it goes. If then this is the nature of power, let us at least do our duty, and like wise men,

(who value freedom,) use our utmost care to support liberty, the only bulwark against lawless power, which, in all ages, has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition, the blood of the best men that ever lived.

"I hope to be pardoned, Sir, for my zeal upon this occasion: it is an old and wise caution, 'That when our neighbor's house is on fire, we ought to take care of our own.' For though, blessed be God, I live in a government where liberty is well understood, and freely enjoyed; yet experience has shown us all, (I'm sure it has to me,) that a bad precedent in one government is soon set up for an authority in another; and therefore I cannot but think it mine, and every honest man's duty, that, (while we pay due obedience to men in authority,) we ought at the same time to be on our guard against power, wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves, or our fellow-subjects.

"I am truly unequal to such an undertaking, on many accounts. And you see I labor under the weight of many years, and am borne down by many infirmities of body; yet old and weak as I am I should think it my duty, if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations set on foot by the government, to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating, (and complaining too,) of the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration, provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no instances of this kind. But to conclude, the question before the Court and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small or private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are trying. No! it may, in its consequences, affect every freeman that lives under a British government, on the main of America. It is the best cause; it is the cause of liberty; and I make no doubt but your upright conduct, this day, will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery, will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempts of tyranny; and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty—both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power in those parts of the world at least, by speaking and writing truth." (Rutherford, John Peter Zenger, p. 123.)

The Chief Justice in summing up said that as the facts or words in the Information were confessed, the only thing that could come before the jury was whether the words, as set forth in the Information, made a libel; "and that," he said, "is a matter of law, no doubt, and which you may leave to the Court."

The jury remained out but a short time, and then returned with a verdict of "Not Guilty," a result which was hailed with exuberant joy by the large gathering in the Hall. Before Hamilton's return to Philadelphia, the Freedom of the Corporation was presented to him in these words,

*"City of New York, SS.*

"Paul Richards, Esqr. the Recorder, Aldermen and Assistants of the City of New York, convened in Common Council, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas honor is the true reward of virtue, and public benefits demand a public acknowledgement; We therefore, under a grateful sense of the remarkable service done to the inhabitants of this City and Colony by Andrew Hamilton, Esqr. of Pennsylvania, barrister at law, by his learned and generous defense of the rights of mankind, and the liberty of the press, in the case of John Peter Zenger, lately tried on an Information exhibited in the Supreme Court of this Colony, do, by these presents, bear to the said Andrew Hamilton, Esqr. with the public thanks of the freemen of this Corporation for that signal service, which he cheerfully undertook under great indisposition of body, and generously performed, refusing any fee or reward; and in testimony of our great esteem for his person, and sense of his merit, do hereby present him with the Freedom of this Corporation. These are therefore to certify and declare, that the said Andrew Hamilton, Esqr. is here by admitted, received and allowed a freeman and citizen of the said City; to have, hold, enjoy and partake of all the benefits, liberties, privileges, freedoms and immunities whatsoever, granted or belonging to a freeman and citizen of the said City.

In testimony whereof, the Common Council of the said City, in Common Council assembled, have caused the seal of the said City to be hereunto affixed, this 29th day of September, A. D. 1735.

By Order of the Common Council. WM. SHARPAS, *Clerk.*"

In September, 1743, Governor George Clinton arrived from Eng-

land. Party strife had not disappeared after the Zenger trial,—in fact it had become intensified, for those who were opposed to the court party felt that their only chance to gain influence and power was through continuing their opposition and gradually establishing themselves as a party striving for the liberty of the people of the colony.

At the same time the court party became involved in internal disputes. By 1746 Governor Clinton had transferred his confidence from De Lancey to Cadwallader Colden, and in Indian matters was displaying great incompetency, refusing to take the advice of the majority of his Council. For this reason, when in the Summer of 1746 he made a trip to Albany to treat with the Iroquois, (who were supposed to be wavering in their allegiance to Great Britain,) the members of the Council, with the exception of Cadwallader Colden and Philip Livingston, refused to accompany him.

In December the trouble in the Council became known to the public and was taken up at the Council Board. In the Minutes of the Council for Dec. 4th, 1746, we find the following: "Mr. Chief Justice De Lancey took notice, That as the business of this Session was now compleated he had something to offer to the Council, which arose from the perusal of a pamphlet that had lately fallen into his hands Entituled, 'A Treaty between his Excellency and the Six united Indian Nations depending on the province of New York, held at Albany in the months of August and September, 1746, (which pamphlet he had in his hands,) wherein was a paragraph, page 3, in the words following viz,

'His Excellency the Governor of New York having received his Majesty's Commands to engage the Indian Nations depending on his Government to join in the expedition then intended against Canada, and to make them the usual presents on that occasion; and being sensible of the great use these Nations may be to the success of this Enterprize and likewise of the difficulties that probably might attend his Endeavors at this time, was desirous to have had the assistance of as many of the members of his Majesty's Council as the Circumstances of affairs would admit; but they all declined to give their attendance except Mr. Colden and Mr. Livingston. His Excellency was therefore obliged to Act with the smallest number of members which by his Majesty's Commission can form a Council, viz. Three; The above two Gentlemen and Capt. Ruth-erford, who was then at his post in Albany.'

Which paragraph, he conceived, did contain a Misrepresentation of Facts and an invidious reflection upon such of the members of his Majesty's Council as did not attend his Excellency to Albany."

Chief Justice De Lancey then went on to say that he moved that the Printer might be sent for and examined to find out who had given him the copy. Upon this Mr. Colden admitted having given the copy and after some attempts at equivocation also admitted having ordered its publication, and that he was the author, but in extenuation of his action said he had had no intention of reflecting on any of the members of the Council.

The Council then proceeded to pass a vote of censure on the pamphlet, and, since it had been published, ordered the proceedings of the Council to be printed for the information of the people.

It is interesting in this case to note that the Council makes no threat of proceeding against the printer, although it asserts the right of calling him to the bar, and examining him, but contents itself with publishing a justification of its position, ordering it to be disseminated among the inhabitants of the province by means of the printing-press. It seems like an unwilling admission of the fact that the press had become a power in the land, and at the same time of a desire to use it to win the Council's point in the dispute.

That the public was taking a far greater interest than formerly in the discussions between the several branches of the government, and in the proceedings of the bodies themselves was evidenced from time to time by attempts on the part of the Assembly to restrict the freedom of printing. For example, when the Twenty-fourth Assembly came together on June 25, 1745, it was at once,<sup>20</sup>

"Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House, be printed from Time to Time, being first perused and signed by the Speaker; and that no other Person but such as he shall appoint, do presume to print the same."

This order and prohibition we find repeated at the beginning of each session during the colonial period until the Revolution.

<sup>20</sup> Minutes, General Assembly for that date.

*(To be continued.)*

# THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

## A PAGE OF HISTORY CORRECTED

### II

#### POPE AND PORTER

[The list of contributors to the literature of the Fitz-John Porter case includes many eminent soldiers, legislators, lawyers, and journalists. For the most part, they have confined themselves to action on the field or to the legal aspects of the case. The author of these articles, however, considers the subject from a standpoint different from that of any previous writer, and goes deep into the motives which prompted the Porter court-martial.

Colonel John P. Nicholson, Recorder-in-Chief of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, says: "It has not only made a great impression on me, but it is, to my mind, one of the most valuable contributions made on the subject. I deeply regret that General Porter is not alive to have the pleasure of treasuring so valuable a contribution."—Ed.]

**P**OPE was not near Waterloo Bridge, and Halleck knew it. Pope was at Warrenton, and Halleck knew it. There was a telegraph line to him, and Halleck knew that also. Pope did retreat from Rappahannock Station. He had been retreating for several days; started from Cedar Mountain August 18. About two hours before Halleck sent that dispatch to McClellan he had received a dispatch from Pope, which was as follows: (Note the day and hour.)

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF VIRGINIA,

WARRENTON, *August 24, 1862, 10 P. M.*

Major-General H. W. Halleck, Commander-in-Chief (*sic!*):

The following general order will be issued to-morrow, and, unless you have some objections to it, will be carried out. The reason for making this disposition of the troops will be given to you fully by letter.

JOHN POPE,

Major-General."<sup>49</sup>

This proves absolutely that Halleck knew better, when he telegraphed McClellan two hours later that Pope was at Waterloo Bridge, and that there was no telegraph line to him. Halleck had received that dispatch, and acknowledged it before midnight, for he wired Pope as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 24, 1862.*

Major-General Pope:

Your order is all well enough, but you may expect orders to recross

<sup>49</sup> O. R., Series I, Vol. II, Part II, p. 641

the Rappahannock and resume the offensive in a few days. Do not neglect to guard all the fords.

H. W. HALLECK,  
General-in-Chief." <sup>50</sup>

There can be but one conclusion: General Halleck was deceiving McClellan, and, whatever his motive may have been, it was he, the general-in-chief, who was preventing those reinforcements under Porter from reaching Pope. Nothing can be clearer than that.

Meantime Porter, with his faithful subordinates, Generals Morell and Sykes, was floundering around through the woods and morass, sometimes beneath the scorching August sun, and sometimes in a drenching rain, during which the Rappahannock rose six feet in one night. They were fording streams abnormally high, scouring the country far and wide with patrols and scouts, in ignorance of the nearness of the enemy, not knowing at what moment their force of 10,000 men might come upon the whole of Lee's army. They were longing to reach Pope, who was retreating, while Halleck was concealing Pope's whereabouts and writing fictions about Pope's victories. And yet, the faithful, earnest, energetic Porter was destined to bear the blame.

He had arrived at Aquia Creek on the 22d, and had quickly gone forward to join Burnside at Falmouth, pushing his troops to hunt for Pope. On the 24th, two days after Porter's arrival, Burnside had wired Halleck: "I know nothing of General Pope's whereabouts. . . . If consistent, please inform me of Pope's situation, and send me any instructions you may have for myself or General Porter." <sup>51</sup>

To this Halleck replied:

"WASHINGTON, *August 24, 1862, 1:40 P. M.*  
Major-General Burnside, Falmouth, Va.:

General Pope attacked last night a portion of the enemy's forces which had crossed the Rappahannock at Sulphur Springs and drove them back. It is expected the fight will be renewed to-day in that vicinity. I think we shall soon be strong enough to attack the main force of the enemy beyond the Rappahannock, but the present object is to hold that line. If there is no large force at the lower fords Porter should push forward and reinforce Pope in the direction of Sulphur Springs.

H. W. HALLECK." <sup>52</sup>

But Pope was not at Sulphur Springs at all. He was at Warrenton, and Halleck knew it. Had Porter pushed forward along the Rappa-

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 642

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 647

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp. 647 and 648

hannock to Sulphur Springs, he would have gone around to the westward of Pope's army, and his own forces would have been in danger from the whole of Lee's army, which was stretched along on the opposite side of the river. Furthermore, the impression given in that dispatch that Pope had won a victory was false.

The truth is that General J. E. B. Stuart had crossed the Rappahannock at Sulphur Springs, accomplished what he wanted to do, and retired to Virginia without injury to his forces.

And this is what they accomplished:

"They took possession of our camp (at Catlett's Station), pillaged and plundered to their hearts' content, and, besides the lives, money, horses, and personal effects lost, General Pope lost the muster rolls of his army, all his private papers, copies of dispatches and reports, memoranda of the campaign and the past and present condition of the army, copies of all the telegrams which he had sent to Washington since taking his present command, all the dispatches received from the President, General Halleck, General McClellan, General Burnside, and the War Department, copies of all the orders issued to his generals of corps and division, all his maps and topographical charts, and, in short, every record and piece of information which anyone could desire to have who wished to know with perfect accuracy and detail the past history and future plans of the campaign, the numbers and disposition of our troops, and the purposes of the War Department and the generals. If these had all been destroyed by fire, the loss would have been most serious, and would greatly have retarded the prosecution of the war. Captured and possessed by the enemy, their loss was incalculable. . . . President Lincoln himself could now tell Jefferson Davis and his generals nothing concerning our army in Virginia which they did not already know." <sup>53</sup>

Stuart also carried off 300 prisoners, and soon afterward the uniforms of General Pope were set up in the Confederate camp for the "Johnnies" to jeer at, with their cries of "On to Washington!"

Meanwhile Porter's corps, under his two division commanders, Generals Morell and Sykes, was vainly scouring both banks of the Rappahannock in their search for Pope, the whereabouts of whom was known to Halleck, but by him concealed from the very officers who should have been informed. Porter was on the alert, and wired his subordinate generals as follows:

<sup>53</sup> *N. Y. World*, August 27, 1862



" AUGUST 24, 1862, 2 P. M.

Generals Morell and Sykes:

Push a scout to Rappahannock Station, and find out if Pope has the pickets near there and gain information of Pope or the enemy. Pope attacked the enemy yesterday near Sulphur Spring, and the latter retreated. He was to renew the attack to-day, and it is probable Pope was pushing after him. I know the river at Rappahannock was not fordable. General Halleck's orders are for us to hold the Rappahannock. Your artillery is *en route*; also Sykes's. You will, therefore, carry out your former instructions. Reinforcements will push up to you. All goes right.

F. J. PORTER,  
Major-General." <sup>54</sup>

But Pope was not in that direction at all. Porter was being deceived by Halleck. Nor were there any Union troops there. And Porter again telegraphs:

" FALMOUTH, *August 24, 1862.*

Generals Morell and Sykes:

Keep your commands well in hand for any enemy, and, before advancing another step, do your utmost to ascertain the position of Pope's forces and where the enemy is. What force is at Kelly's Ford? Has the enemy been seen on the opposite bank? Give me all the information you have and the location of your forces, and amount of cavalry at the ford. There is no more cavalry here to send you. If you can push scouts over the ford, do so as far as possible. What is the latest information?

Send your dispatches so that General Sykes can see them. Direct Griffin to fix the ground or woods at Barnett's so that a small force, with artillery, can hold it. I am just informed that Pope is on the Rappahannock, at Warrenton Springs, having attacked and whipped the enemy. I wish to hold Kelly's Ford to-morrow, and hope by the time I join you that you will be able to inform me what is at and opposite Rappahannock Station.

F. J. PORTER,  
Major-General." <sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> O. R., Series I, Vol. XII, Part III, p. 651

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

Through Halleck, Porter was kept groping in the dark; and at Rappahannock Station he found everything "burned, quiet, and deserted." Generals Reno and Reynolds, for whom as well as for Pope, Morell and Sykes were hunting, could not be found. All the fords on the Rappahannock above Barnett's had been abandoned by our troops; and Sykes wires that "if the enemy cross lower down than Rappahannock, Morell and I are all that is between him and Fredericksburg. . . . There is no communication between me and Reynolds or General Pope; it is evidently cut off. Send me instructions at once. I hear, incidentally, that Morell returns to Fredericksburg."<sup>56</sup>

Sykes is now quietly in camp at Morrisville P. O., but Porter still urges his troops forward. He telegraphs Morell:

"FALMOUTH, *August 24*, 1862.

General Morell:

If there is no large force at Kelly's Ford, push on to Rappahannock Station. Sykes will follow, and the whole corps will move on to join Pope at Sulphur Springs, at which point he attacked and drove the enemy over the river. Give aid to the telegraph operators; cut poles for them, and push it along. The artillery is in motion. Graham and Smead join Sykes for the present.

F. J. PORTER."<sup>57</sup>

But Pope was not at Sulphur Springs. McClellan and Burnside and Porter were being deceived by Halleck, and by a regular system. Pope had not won a victory over the enemy; he was not in pursuit; he had retreated from the Confederates at Rappahannock Station—had, indeed, been retreating all the time from August 18. It began at Cedar Mountain—and was to continue to Bull Run, and thence to Washington. The enemy was at that moment moving round his right flank

And in the face of these facts, Halleck reported that "The troops from the Peninsula were ordered to . . . march immediately to the field of battle . . . and that the delays . . . were neither creditable nor excusable."

To recapitulate: Halleck had released McClellan's grip upon Lee and Richmond; he had delayed the transfer of the Army of the Potomac

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 647

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 652

from the Peninsula to Acquia Creek; he had deceived McClellan and Porter by a series of falsehoods, which should put Ananias and Sapphira to the blush. And, while actually preventing these troops from reaching Pope, he was constantly assuring the latter that reinforcements were near at hand, and would soon be on the spot.

In his report, General Pope says:

"I relied confidently upon the forces which I had been assured would be sent from Alexandria," etc.

And Halleck's promises of reinforcements for Pope are as "plenty as blackberries"; Vol. XII, of the "Official Records," gives them in detail.

But the most interesting part of the story has yet to be told:

"R. N. ARPE."

After Pope was sent to St. Paul, "banished to the frontier," as he called it—he wrote some letters to Halleck, which must be read between the lines, as they are dark, mysterious, cryptic, latitantic. In one of them he says, "the letters I have addressed to you are personal and not official. They are written in direct view of my personal relations with you. They, therefore, deal almost wholly with personal matters or with [Mark well what follows] the personal bearings of official questions. I could assign, as I shall do in good time, the very strongest official reason for every personal suggestion I have made." The chief wonder is that they ever found their way into the "Official Records," and it is not unlikely that they were found in Halleck's desk, after his death, and forwarded by his widow to the War Department, together with certain documents which belonged to the Government, and which had been removed from the archives. From a historical viewpoint, they possess great value. They will be found in the "Official Records," Vol. XII. Part III., pp. 816 to 827 inclusive. To the cryptologist they must prove an interesting study.

The opening of the very first letter (September 30, 1862) is ominous, and calculated to arrest Halleck's attention at the very start. It says:

"The letter which I am about to address you had, perhaps, better have been left unwritten. Its result will soon exhibit whether or not this is so. You will excuse a little plain speaking, since it will doubtless be for our mutual benefit." <sup>58</sup>

Then follows what Pope calls "plain speaking," which proved to be very "plain" to Halleck, but which has proved anything but "plain" to historians and biographers. That interesting missive, which shall hereinafter receive further and fuller attention, has an equally ominous closing. This is what it says:

"You can now, at least, do me justice. . . . I am very sure you will do it [Oho! Mark that!], but whether you do it or not, I impress upon you the necessity for your own sake [!] of considering carefully the suggestions I have made."<sup>59</sup>

Halleck saw the necessity, considered, and answered on October 10. After acknowledging receipt of the letter, the general-in-chief says:

"I very much regret . . . the threatening tone assumed in it toward me."<sup>60</sup>

There is a certain kind of conscience which needs no accuser, and Halleck, in acknowledging the threat, made a mistake. Pope had offered the shoe. Halleck had put his foot into it.

Pope keeps up his fire. His batteries are masked, but his guns are trained on Halleck, as will appear.

"Threatening tone," Pope sarcastically responds, "certainly it was not intended."<sup>61</sup>

Now follows a threat, carefully veiled, and certainly intended for the general-in-chief. It says:

"You cannot construe my expressed determination to relieve myself of unjust and atrocious misrepresentation and injury by any means in my power a 'threat'; if it indeed be one, it certainly cannot be addressed to you. [Wait and see.] It can only apply to those who have done me the wrong, or who, by failing to do me common justice, have suffered, if not encouraged, a great wrong to be done to my character and reputation. Certainly the determination to right myself, if possible, is no 'threat.' Let us understand. I have strictly obeyed your orders in Virginia and endeavored in all fidelity to accomplish your wishes. I have toiled and fought earnestly and with all my heart. [Note.—This is important, as showing the plans of the campaign were laid by Halleck himself, and

not by Pope.] . . . The public, through wilful and determined slander have thrown the blame on me. You know that this is atrociously unjust. Do you not think that ordinary justice requires that you, as general-in-chief, under whose orders I acted [There it is again!], and who have borne private testimony to my conduct, should bear the testimony publicly?" . . .

Mark well what follows:

" . . . The Government refuses to allow me to publish the facts.

I am sent off to the far West. The general-in-chief declines to acknowledge my services in any public manner.

" . . . Why do you refuse to do me this simple act of justice? [Halleck is certainly the man Pope is pursuing.] There must be a reason for it. Who is to be shielded by unjustly ruining, or allowing to be ruined, my reputation and my honor as a soldier? It is very sure these questions must be answered some time."

Here is a home-thrust. "Who is to be shielded?" etc. Examination of the "Official Records" shows, the question has required forty-two years to answer. He continues:

" . . . Acknowledge publicly, as has been done privately, by the whole Administration, that I did my duty bravely and skilfully in Virginia, and I have nothing to say about what you do with the criminals who betrayed the country. If public interests require that these men be shielded from punishment, be it so."

Pope has said [only said] "a 'threat,' if it indeed be one . . . certainly cannot be addressed to you" [Halleck.] He has told his grievance. He has specified particularly his requirement. He now lifts the finger, points it directly to Halleck, and declares:

"Thou art the man."

This is what he says:

"I am informed that you object to publishing such an order; that the Cabinet and President are willing."

Halleck is surely the offender Pope has in mind. Nothing can be clearer than that. This is what Pope calls "plain speaking," and it is plain enough, even if he has befogged the opening. For though he has

said it was not "intended" for Halleck, he has proved that Halleck is the man.

In his second letter he writes:

"Surely you do not expect me to remain quiet under such circumstances, or to fail to use all means in my power, military, political, and social, to set myself right."<sup>62</sup> . . . "You know me well enough, I think, to understand that I will never submit if I can help it."<sup>63</sup> . . . I wrote to you because I desire you to understand fully my feelings and the course of action I shall pursue. I had hoped that you would render official steps unnecessary. Your identification with the campaign in Virginia justified me in believing that unless some bad management or serious error marked my operations I would be sustained promptly and fully by you. I never would have consented to go into Virginia under any other belief. . . . Your not doing so, when the whole facts came to be known [One must read all this between the lines], cannot fail to be the subject of remark, especially so as the circumstances under which you came to Washington and I undertook the campaign in Virginia, are well known to one-half of Congress."<sup>64</sup>

Indeed, but here is a revelation with a vengeance. It has been generally supposed that President Lincoln wrote time and time again, asking, begging, beseeching Halleck to come to Washington, and to take command as general-in-chief of all the land forces of the United States. But that modest, retiring general did not desire the honor that was thrust upon him. Then the President sent his special messengers, tendering the sword of command. Among them was Governor Sprague of Rhode Island. But the modesty of the general prevented anything further than thanks for the proffered promotion. He did, however, drop a quiet hint to the Governor that he was a veritable "slave of duty," and was always subject to the commands of his superiors. Then came the "mandamus," in the form of the President's order, on July 11.<sup>65</sup> And Secretary Stanton immediately wired the news to Halleck, at St. Louis. But Pope has let out the information that behind it all is a secret which has leaked out to one-half of Congress.

The second letter ends as ominously as the first. "I will not pursue the matter," says Pope. "It seems plain to me that the Government has

<sup>62</sup> P. 821

<sup>63</sup> P. 822

<sup>64</sup> P. 823

<sup>65</sup> O. R., Vol. XI, Part III, p. 314

been very willing to allow me to be sacrificed for some reason yet to be explained." [It seems as if Pope were using the word government as synonymous with Halleck. He has already said the President and Cabinet are willing, and that Halleck alone objects.] He says further, "I shall, if possible, find out what the reason is, so that I may at least be acquainted with the great public interests which justified the unmerited sacrifice of the honor and reputation of an officer whose service are so highly lauded in private by the government [that is Halleck] which permits his public condemnation."

If you have not the power (as I am led to infer from your letter) to do justice, even in words, to officers who served under your immediate orders and whose operations commanded your entire approval, but are forced to see them sacrificed without being permitted to put forth a word to prevent it, I have only to say that your position is not to be envied. No man in all this country regrets more than I do that you occupy such a position or would more gladly see you out of it.

I have not designed in any way to wound your feelings, and if I have said what is disagreeable to you, it has arisen from the necessity of my position."

It seems incredible that any one can fail to understand that if Halleck shall not comply with Pope's demands, the latter will make the former an object of pity, and that Halleck must accept what is disagreeable, whether or not it is palatable, and whenever Pope's necessity shall require it. In view of Halleck's well-known vanity, hauteur, pompousness, and self-adulation, many who knew him declare he would never have submitted to such letters from Pope, excepting for the fear of the court of inquiry which Porter had demanded on September 10, and again on the 11th<sup>66</sup> and which Pope, by those cryptic letters, was threatening to demand.

<sup>66</sup> O. R., Vol. xii, Part ii, pp. 505 and 506.



## "ADMIRAL" PIERRE LANDAIS

**A**N article by Gulian C. Verplanck, describing the vagaries of Captain Pierre Landais, long known to the New York public as "old Admiral Landais," appeared in the *Talisman* of 1828. Eight years had then elapsed since Landais, almost ninety years old, had been laid at rest in a pauper's grave, and Verplanck essayed to draw a thin veil of apology over those errors and foibles which, as a commander and citizen, had long brought down upon the poor old man the amused contempt of his fellow citizens. The article has been frequently reprinted, and under the title of "A Rival of Paul Jones," appeared recently in a Sunday issue of a New York paper. From various sources, including some manuscript notes, preserved in my family, I would contribute a few additional remarks on the same subject:

A native of St. Malo, France, born about 1731, we first hear of Pierre Landais, when, as a lieutenant in 1766-68, he circumnavigated the globe under Bougainville; he was afterwards a Capitaine de Brûlot,<sup>1</sup> and in August, 1774, a Lieutenant of the Port of Brest. In 1776 he offered his services to the American Commissioners in Paris, who, deceived as to his actual merit and standing, put him in command of the twenty-eight gun ship *Flamand*. His commission was dated March 1, 1777, and he sailed September 26, with arms and munitions of war for Portsmouth, N. H.; Baron Steuben, his secretary M. Du Ponceau, and others were passengers. In Boston he became a naturalized citizen. He was appointed early in 1779 to the command of the *Alliance*, built at Salisbury, Mass., and was soon ordered to France. His scandalous and criminal conduct, the following September, when, yielding to a mad, ungovernable jealousy, he fired upon Jones, in the *Bon Homme Richard*, during her fight with the *Serapis*, is a matter of history. Landais was immediately suspended from his command by the Commissioners, but regaining it later on through stratagem, he sailed for America. On the homeward trip, showing signs of mental aberration, as was alleged, he was, at the suggestion of ex-Commissioner Arthur Lee, confined to his cabin. Soon after his arrival in the States, and before any more serious charge could be preferred, he was dropped from the naval list, and after the war continued to live in New York.

<sup>1</sup> A fireship.



Jones, a Rear-Admiral in the Russian navy, and with strong prospects of soon having a similar if not a higher position in the navy of France, died in Paris, July 18, 1792. With Jones' departure Landais reappeared in his native land; his services were accepted by the revolutionary party and the following year, in command of the seventy-four gun ship *La Patriote*, he participated in the attacks on Oneglia, Cagliari, and the capture of Antioca. In Admiral Truguet's attack in February, 1793, on Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, Landais' ship, the nearest to the town, maintained an incessant fire for three days. He was now raised to the rank of Contre Admiral (or Rear-Admiral), and was subsequently given the command of the 122 gun, three-decker, *L'Océan*, which had previously figured as *La Montagne*; while on this ship he received sixty livres daily for his table expenses alone.

A change of administration put him out of favor and brought him back to the United States towards the close of 1797; Greenleaf's *N. Y. Register*, of November 18, says that after an absence of more than five years "Citizen Landais, formerly commander of the U. S. frigate *Alliance*, has lately arrived in this city. We are informed that he is now Admiral in the Navy of the republic of France." After this he resided in New York or in Brooklyn, and was at one time a guest of my grandfather at No. 14 (now 20) Vesey street,<sup>2</sup> and in an old receipt-book, I have specimens of the Admiral's signature for dividends collected on his account. My father, born in 1795, became a favorite of the old seaman, who told him tales from his voyage under Bougainville, including the now familiar one of the Cape sheep whose tails were supported on wheels; gave him a small steel sabre with scabbard, etc., and taught him the use of foils. Landais also gave my father a small profile head and bust portrait of himself, designed by Fouquet and engraved by Chrétien, inventor of the physionotrace. The portrait,<sup>3</sup> with the superscription "Le Contre Admiral Landais," shows us a pleasant, elderly, smooth face, turned to the left, with keen eye and *retroussé* nose, with powdered hair combed straight back, curled at the ends and tide in a queue; a naval uniform trimmed with gold embroidery; on the shoulder a full epaulette; and around the throat a white cravat knotted in front. This is the only portrait of Landais, as a man of about sixty-five years of age, I have ever seen.

<sup>2</sup> In this house, about 1805, Mr. George Rapelje gave a public reception to ex-Governor Clinton.

<sup>3</sup> See frontispiece, for which we are indebted to Mr. Greenwood. This has never been published before, and is doubtless the only authentic portrait of Landais.—ED.

Some of the Admiral's appeals to Congress were printed in New York in pamphlet form, but they are now rarely met with. Before his final dissolution he removed to the Kipp's Bay Almshouse, between 25th and 28th streets, and extending from Second avenue to the East river. It was opened in 1816, and is now the Bellevue Hospital. Here my father and his sister visited the old man at times, and it was here he died September 16, 1820, aged eighty-nine. As a boy, I have seen a slab, which I think was a wooden one, though Verplanck says "white marble," which had been set up in the ground of St. Patrick's Cathedral, built in 1815. The slab, facing west, stood on the Prince street side, half way back from the street and close to the easterly boundary, with an inscription reading as follows:

A LA MEMOIRE  
de  
PIERRE DE LANDAIS  
ANCIEN CONTRE-AMIRAL  
au service  
DES ETATS-UNIS  
Qui Disparut  
Juin 1818,  
Agé 87 ans.

It was but a memorial, for the remains had been laid in Potter's Field,<sup>4</sup> now Washington Square. Landais left a lengthy will, written in French, which, with an English translation, was not put on record in New York until some thirty years after his death. The Trudeau family, descendants of Landais' old friend and executor, Dr. Eloy Berger, may still preserve

<sup>4</sup> There were no interments after 1828.

some mementoes of the Admiral; besides the articles already mentioned I have a small, round, black framed glass which he used in shaving.

Among the Gurney photographs of the St. Memin portraits, published in New York, 1862, by Elias Dexter, No. 251 is entitled, "Capt. Pierre Landais," 1801; it has been reproduced for Fiske's "American Revolution." The picture represents, with head and bust in profile to left, a young man, straight featured, with dark natural hair curled all over and clubbed behind, and short side whiskers; a high muslin cravat and a high standing coatcollar; a uniform of the period (1801), and on the shoulder a plain strap. This cannot be the aged Admiral Landais; it may be one of the two young officers named Landais, who were then in Burbeck's U. S. Corps of Artillerists and Engineers.

I. J. G.

NEW YORK CITY.



## THE OLD TOWN OF GROTON

[From the address by Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at the 250th Anniversary of Groton, Mass., June, 1905.]

**T**HE story of this town has been told so many times, both in printed book and public address, that now I shall not repeat the tale. I might give a narrative of the trials and hardships, suffered equally by brave men and resolute women, during the first century of the settlement; I might tell how the town was attacked by the Indians and burnt, and how the inhabitants were driven away from their homes and compelled for a while to abandon the place; how on various occasions men were killed by the savages, families broken up, and children carried off into captivity; and how oftentimes from the failure of crops they were pinched by want; and how they endured other privations,—but a relation of these facts at this time would be as tedious as a twice-told tale. Instead of describing the sad and dreadful experiences of the early settlers, and the destruction of their homes by fire and hideous ruin, I shall confine myself to other topics, and speak of some of the conditions of their day, bringing the account down to a later period, and touching on a few of the more important events in our local history.

In early Colonial days a town did not become a municipal corporation by formal vote of the General Court, with power to act as one person, but a grant of land, sometimes containing many thousand acres, was made to a body of men under certain conditions, which was practically a *quasi* form of incorporation. The most important of these conditions was "a speedy settlement of a Godly minister," and often another condition was that those persons who received land should build houses thereon within a stated period of time. Sometimes a board of selectmen was named by the Legislature, who should look after the prudential affairs of the town until their successors were chosen. In those days this course was substantially the only formality needed in order to give local self-government to a new community. The term "prudential affairs" was a convenient expression, intended to cover anything required by a town which prudence would dictate.

In the early records of the Colony the proceedings of the General

Court, as a rule, were not dated day by day,—though there are many exceptions,—but the beginning of the session is always given, and occasionally the days of the month are entered. These dates in the printed edition of the Records are frequently carried along without authority, sometimes covering a period of several days, or even a week or more; and for this reason often it is impossible to tell the exact date of any particular legislation when there are no contemporaneous documents on file which bear on the subject. In some instances papers are found among the State Archives or elsewhere, which fix the date of such legislation that is wanting in the official records.

For these reasons it is impossible to tell to a dot or a day, with entire certainty, when the town of Groton began its municipal life or official existence,—or, in other words, when it was “incorporated,” as the modern expression is. Without any doubt the date was near the end of May, 1655, Old Style. It must have been after May 23, as on that day the General Court began its session; and it was before May 29, when the next entry in the records appears. Fortunately there is still preserved among the manuscripts of the New England Historic Genealogical Society a contemporary record of the action of the General Court in regard to the matter. This interesting old paper, officially attested by Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony, and by William Torrey, Clerk of the Deputies, was given to that Society by the late Charles Woolley, for many years an honored resident of Groton. This document was signed on May 25, the day when the Assistants, or Magistrates as they are often called, granted the petition, and apparently at the same time the House of Deputies took concurrent action. At that period the Assistants formed the body of law-makers which is known to-day as the State Senate; and at that time the House of Deputies corresponded to the present House of Representatives.

It may be proper to add that the Groton Historical Society owns a contemporaneous copy of the record made near the time of the grant by Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony, which is dated May 23, 1655. It was found among the papers of the late John Boynton, a former town clerk of Groton, and may have been sent, soon after the settlement of the town, to the selectmen for their information and guidance. Perhaps the Secretary took the first day of the General Court, as in England before April 8, 1793, all laws passed at a session of Parliament went into effect from the first day, unless there was some enactment to the contrary.

But whatever the date, be it a few days more or less, the substance is always of greater importance than the shadow; and so it is of less moment to learn the exact time of the order than it is to know that the town has now reached the ripe old age of two centuries and a half, and that she wears the dignity of her increasing years like a crown of glory.

The first settlers of the town came here less than one generation after the Colonial Charter of Massachusetts Bay was granted by Charles I. They represented a rugged race, willing to undergo hardships in daily life and expecting to meet danger from many sources. Under adverse conditions they pushed into the wilderness and made their homes in a region little known to the white man. They were a brave band, and took their trials and troubles with a readiness worthy of all praise. The new township lay on the frontiers, and all beyond was a desolate wild. It stood on the outer edge of civilization, and for a time served as a barrier against Indian attacks on the inlying settlements. The lot of a frontiersman, even under favorable conditions, is never a happy one, but at that period, particularly when cut off from neighbors and deprived of all social and commercial intercourse with other towns, and in an age when newspapers and postal privileges were unknown, his lot was indeed hard. In after years this experience told on the settlers to their credit and advantage, and made the bold character that cropped out in later generations when there was need of such stuff. The laws of heredity are not well enough known for us to trace closely *cause* and *effect*; but the lives led by the early pioneers of the Colony had their fruitage in the wars of the next century. These laws work in a subtle and mysterious way and cannot be defined, but the hardships of one generation toughen the fiber of the next. Given a strong body and a high standard of morality, and the offspring will show the inherited traits. Every farmer in this town knows that a strain of blood and breed will tell on his domestic stock. As flowers, by a process not revealed to us, select the tint of delicate colors from the swampy bogs of nature, so the toils of life weave the warp and the woof which make up noble character. "The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together."

It was once wittily said by a writer,—so distinguished in his day that I hardly know whether to speak of him as a poet or a physician, but whom all will recognize as the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table,—that a man's education begins a hundred years before he is born. I am almost tempted to add that even then he is putting on only the finishing touches of his

training. A man is a composite being, both in body and soul, with a long line of ancestry whose beginnings it is impossible to trace; and every succeeding generation only helps to foster and weld together the various and innumerable qualities which make up his own personality, though they be modified by countless circumstances that form his later education, and for which he alone is responsible.

The first comers to Massachusetts brought from their English homes a love of personal freedom and liberty. For generations this feeling had not been encouraged there by the royal authorities; and its growth, hampered by many obstacles, had been slow. These settlers were a hard-working set and a God-fearing people, and of the right stock to found a nation. Here the new conditions enabled them to give free scope to their actions, and the natural drift of events was all toward individual independence in its widest sense. There was no law against conventicles or non-conformists, and for that period of time there was great liberality of sentiment on the part of the Colonists. For centuries the microbic atoms of independence had been kept alive in England, and from one generation to another they handed down the germs which developed in the new world, and bore fruit in the American Revolution. From the time of King John, who, on June 15, 1215, signed the Great Charter of the Liberties of England, the recognition of human rights was advancing in the mother country slowly but steadily; and the new settlers, infected with similar ideas, brought with them the spirit of these political principles. The development of broad views was gradual, but on every advance the wheels were blocked behind, and the gain was held. Each separate step thus taken led finally to the Declaration of Independence, which was the culmination of political freedom. Based on this instrument, and following it closely both in spirit and in point of time, was the written Constitution of the United States, which has served as a model for so many different governments.

Less than one generation passed between the time when the Charter of Charles I. was given to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay and the date when the grant of Groton Plantation was made by the General Court. The Charter was given on March 4, 1628-9, and the grant of the town was made in May, 1655,—the interval being a little more than twenty-six years. At that period scarcely anything was known about the geography of the region, and the Charter gave to the Governor and other representatives of the Massachusetts Company, on certain conditions, all

the territory lying between an easterly and westerly line running three miles north of any part of the Merrimack River and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, and a similar parallel line running three miles south of any part of the Charles River. Without attempting to trace in detail, from the time of the Cabots to the days of the Charter, the community of the English title to this transcontinental strip of territory, it is enough to know that the precedents and usages of that period gave to Great Britain, in theory at least, undisputed sway over the region, and forged every link in the chain of authority and sovereignty.

At the time of the Charter it was incorrectly supposed that America was a narrow strip of land,—perhaps an arm of the continent of Asia,—and that the distance across from ocean to ocean was comparatively short. It was then known that the Isthmus of Darien was narrow, and it was therefore supposed that the whole continent also was narrow. New England was a region about which little was known beyond slight examinations made from the coast line. The rivers were unexplored, and all knowledge concerning them was confined to the neighborhood of the places where they emptied into the sea. The early navigators thought that the general course of the Merrimack was easterly and westerly, as it runs in that direction near the mouth; and their error was perpetuated inferentially by the words of the Charter. By later explorations this strip of territory has since been lengthened out into a belt three thousand miles long, and stretches across the whole width of a continent. The cities of Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Detroit, and Milwaukee all lie within this zone, on territory that once belonged to the Massachusetts Company, according to the Charter granted by King Charles.

Cut in twain by a Royal decision in 1739, there were two adjoining towns bearing the same name, the one in Massachusetts, and the other in New Hampshire; and thus they remained for nearly a century. This similarity of designation was the source of considerable confusion which lasted until the New Hampshire town, on January 1, 1837, took the name of Nashua, after the river from which its prosperity largely is derived.

By the same decision of the king our other adjoining neighbor, Townsend,—for at that time Pepperell had not as yet assumed a separate municipal existence,—was deprived of more than one quarter of her territory; and the present towns of Brookline, Mason, and New Ipswich in New Hampshire are now reaping the benefit of what she then lost.



Enough of the original Groton Plantation, however, was left to furnish other towns and parts of towns with ample material for their territory. On November 26, 1742, the west parish of Groton was set off as a precinct. It comprised all that part of the town lying on the west side of the Nashua River, north of the old road leading from Groton to Townsend, and now known as Pepperell. Its incorporation as a parish or precinct allowed the inhabitants to manage their own ecclesiastical affairs, while in all other matters they continued to act with the parent town. Its partial separation gave them the benefit of a settled minister in their neighborhood, which in those days was considered of great importance.

(It is an interesting fact to note that in early times the main reason given in the petitions for dividing towns was the long distance to the meeting-house, by which the inhabitants were prevented from hearing the stated preaching of the Gospel. At the present day I do not think that this argument is ever urged by those who favor the division of a township.)

On April 12, 1753, when the Act was signed by the Governor, the west parish of Groton was made a district,—the second step toward its final and complete separation from the mother town. At this period the Crown authorities were jealous of the growth of the popular party in the House of Representatives, and for that reason they frowned on every attempt to increase the number of its members.

The early settlers of Groton, like all other persons of that period of time or of any period, had their limitations. They were lovers of political freedom, and they gave the largest liberty to all,—so far as it related to their physical condition; but in matters of religious belief it was quite otherwise. With them it was an accepted tradition—perhaps with us not entirely outgrown—that persons who held a different faith from themselves were likely to have a lower standard of morality. They saw things by a dim light, they saw “through a glass darkly.” They beheld theological objects by the help of dipped candles, and they interpreted religion and its relations to life accordingly. We living two hundred and fifty years later can bring to bear the electric light of science and modern discovery. We have a great advantage over what they had, and let us use it fairly. Let us be just to them, as we hope for justice from those who will follow us. Let us remember that the standards of daily life change from one century to another. Perhaps in future gen-

erations, when we are judged, the verdict of posterity will be against us rather than against the early comers. More has been given to us than was given to them, and we shall be held responsible in a correspondingly larger measure. It is not the number of talents with which we have been intrusted that will tell in our favor, but the sacred use we make of them. In deciding this question, two centuries and a half hence, I am by no means sure of the judgment that history will render. Do we as a nation give all men a square deal? The author of the Golden Rule was color-blind, and in its application he made no difference between the various races of mankind. This rule applied to the black man equally with the white man. Do we now give our African brother a fair chance? It is enough for us now to try to do right, and let the consequences be what they will. "Hew up to the chalk line, and let the chips fly where they may," once said Wendell Phillips. We hear much nowadays about the simple life, but that was the life lived by them, and taught to their children, both by precept and example. Austere in their belief, they practised those homely virtues which lie at the base of all civilization; and we of to-day owe much to their memory. They prayed for the wisdom that cometh from above, and for the righteousness that exalteth a nation; and they tried to square their conduct by their creed.

The early settlers were a plain folk, and they knew little of the pride and pomposity of later times. To sum up briefly their social qualities, I should say that they were neighborly to a superlative degree, which means much in country life. They looked after the welfare of their neighbors who were not so well off in this world's goods as they themselves, they watched with them when they were sick and sympathized with them when death came into their families. In cold weather they hauled wood for the widows, and cut it up and split it for them; and when a beef "crittur" or a hog was killed, no one went hungry. When a man met with an accident and had a leg broken, the neighbors saw that his crops were gathered, and that his needful work was done; and after a heavy snow-storm in winter, they turned to and broke out the roads and private ways with sleds drawn by many yoke of oxen belonging in the district. Happily all this order of things is not yet a lost art, but in former times the custom was more thoroughly observed, and spread over a much wider region than now prevails. When help was needed in private households, they never asked, like the lawyer of old, "And who is my neighbor?" They always stretched out their hands to the poor, and they reached forth their hands to the needy.

To us it seems almost pathetic, certainly amusing, to see how closely they connected their daily life with the affairs of the church. As a specimen I will give an instance found in the note-book of the Reverend John Fiske, of Chelmsford. It seems that James Parker, James Fiske, and John Nutting wished to remove from Chelmsford and take up their abode in this town. The subject of their removal was brought before the church there in the autumn of 1661, when they desired the "loving leave" of their brethren so to do, as well as prayers that the blessings of God might accompany them to their new homes. The meeting was held on November 9, 1661, when some discussion took place and considerable feeling was shown. Mr. Fiske, the pastor, shrewdly declined to commit himself in the matter; or, according to the record, declined to speak on the question "one way or the other, but desired that the brethren might manifest themselves." At the conference one brother said that there was no necessity for the removal, and hoped that the three members would give up their intention to remove, and would remain in Chelmsford. Reading between the lines it seems as if this town had invited the three men to settle here; and Brother Parker speaking for them ("in the plural number") said that God's hand was to be seen in the whole movement. The same hand which brought them to Chelmsford now pointed to Groton. Apparently the meeting was a protracted one, and "scarce a man in the church but presently said the grounds, the grounds." This was another form of calling for the question,—in other words, for the reason of the removal, whether valid or not. While the decision of the conference is not given in exact language, inferentially it was in favor of their going,—as they were here in December, 1662. James Parker was a deacon in the Chelmsford church; and perhaps there had been some slight disagreement between him and a few of the other members. Evidently he was one of the pillars of the body at Chelmsford; and at once he became a deacon at Groton. To us now it is amusing to see what a commotion in the church was raised because these three families purposed to remove to another town. "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth." Fortunately for this town James Parker, James Fiske, and John Nutting with their households came hither to live, where they all became useful and influential citizens far above the average. In his day James Parker was the most prominent man in Groton, filling many civil and military positions; the next year after coming James Fiske was chosen selectman, and later town clerk; and John Nutting was appointed surveyor of highways. There are in this audience, doubtless, at the present

moment many descendants of these three pioneers who had so many obstacles thrown in their way before taking up their abode here. If these families had not removed hither at that early period, perhaps their descendants now would be celebrating anniversaries elsewhere rather than here, and might never have known what they lost by the change in their respective birthplaces. Without being able to call them by name or to identify them in any way, to all such I offer the greetings of this gathering on the good judgment shown by their ancestors.

In all my visits to the several towns of the same name, I have interested myself to learn the local pronunciation of the word. I have asked many persons in all ranks of life and grades of society in regard to the matter, and without exception they have given it "Gráw-ton," which every "native here, and to the manner born" knows so well how to pronounce. It has never been Grow-ton, or Grot-ton even, but always with a broad sound on the first and accented syllable. Such was the old pronunciation in England, and by the continuity of tradition the same has been kept up throughout the several settlements in this country bearing the name.

During two centuries and a half—the long period of time now under consideration—many changes have taken place in the customs and manners of our people. Some of these are entirely forgotten and traces of them are found only in the records of the past; and I purpose to allude to a few. In this way a survival of their knowledge may be kept up, which will help the present generation in some degree to catch the attitude of its ancestors.

In the early days of New England marriages were performed by magistrates only, and by other officers appointed for that particular purpose. It was many years before ministers of the Gospel were allowed to take part in the ceremony. At a town meeting held here, on December 15, 1669, the selectmen were authorized "to petition to the [General] Court for one to marry persons in our towne"; and it is probable that before this time persons wishing to be joined in wedlock were obliged either to go elsewhere in order to carry out their intention, or else a magistrate or other officer was brought for the occasion. At that period the population of the town was small, and the marriages were few in number; and before this date only eight couples are found as recorded of Groton. Perhaps these marriages were solemnized by a Commissioner of Small Causes, who was authorized equally with a magistrate to conduct

the ceremony. These officers were empowered to act in all cases within the jurisdiction of a magistrate, and were approved, either by the Court of Assistants or the County Courts, on the request of any town where there was no resident magistrate. They were three in number in each of such towns, and were chosen by the freemen.

Another instance of a change in early customs is found in connection with funerals, which formerly were conducted with severe simplicity. Our pious forefathers were opposed to all ecclesiastical rites, and any custom that reminded them of the English Church met with their stern disapproval. And, furthermore, prayers over a corpse were very suggestive of those offered up for the dead by the Roman Church; and to their minds such ceremonies savored strongly of heresy and superstition. A body was taken from the house to the grave, and interred without ceremony; and no religious services were held. Funeral prayers in New England were first made in the smaller towns before they were in the larger places. Their introduction into Boston was of so uncommon occurrence that it caused some comment in a newspaper, as the following extract from "The Boston Weekly News-Letter," December 31, 1730, will show:—

Yesterday were Buried here the Remains of that truly honourable & devout Gentlewoman, Mrs. SARAH BYFIELD, amidst the affectionate Respects & Lamentations of a numerous Concourse.—Before carrying out the Corpse, a Funeral Prayer was made, by one of the Pastors of the *Old Church*, to whose Communion she belong'd; which, tho' a Custom in the Country-Towns, is a singular Instance in this place, but it's wish'd may prove a leading Example to the general Practice of so christian & decent a Custom.

At a funeral the coffin was carried upon a bier to the place of interment by pall-bearers, who from time to time were relieved by others walking at their side. The bearers usually were kinsfolk or intimate friends of the deceased; and they were followed by the mourners and neighbors, who walked two by two. After the burial the bier was left standing over the grave ready for use when occasion should again require.

Many years ago an old citizen of this town told me that once he served as a pall-bearer at the funeral of a friend who died in Squannacook Village (West Groton). It took place near midsummer, in very hot weather; and he related how the procession was obliged to halt often in order to give a rest to the bearers, who were nearly prostrated by the heat during their long march.

Hearses were first introduced into Boston about 1796, and into Groton a few years later. In the warrant for the Groton town-meeting on April 4, 1803, Article No. 7 was

To see if the town will provide a herse for the town's use, and give such directions about the same as they shall think fit.

In the Proceedings of that meeting, after Article No. 7, it is recorded:—

Voted that the town will provide a herse for the Town's use.

Voted and chose James Brazier, Esq<sup>r</sup> Jacob L. Parker, and Joseph Sawtell 3<sup>d</sup> a Committee and directed them to provide a decent herse at the Town's expence.

From the earliest period of our Colonial history training-days were appointed by the General Court for the drilling of soldiers; and at intervals the companies used to come together as a regiment and practise various military exercises. From this custom sprang the regimental muster, so common before the War of the Rebellion.

During a long time, and particularly in the early part of the nineteenth century, many such musters were held here. A training-field often used for the purpose was the plain, situated near the Hollingsworth Paper-mills, a mile and a half northerly from the village.

Akin to the subject of military matters, was a custom which formerly prevailed in some parts of Massachusetts, and perhaps elsewhere, of celebrating occasionally the anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown, which falls on October 17. Such a celebration was called a "Cornwallis"; and it was intended to represent, in a burlesque manner, the siege of the town, as well as the ceremony of its surrender. The most prominent generals on each side would be personated, while the men of the two armies would wear what was supposed to be their peculiar uniform. I can recall now more than one such sham fight that took place in this town during my boyhood. In 10 Cushing, 252, is to be found a decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, enjoining a town treasurer from paying money that had been appropriated for such a celebration.

James Russell Lowell, in his Glossary to "The Biglow Papers," thus defines the word: "*Cornwallis, a sort of muster in masquerade;*

supposed to have had its origin soon after the Revolution, and to commemorate the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. It took the place of the old Guy Fawkes procession." Speaking in the character of Hosea Biglow, he asks,

Recollect wut fun we hed, you 'n' I an' Ezry Hollis  
Up there to Waltham plain last fall, along o' the Cornwallis?

He further says in a note: "i hait the Sight of a feller with a muskit as I du pizn But their is fun to a cornwallis I aint agoin' to deny it."

The last Cornwallis in this immediate neighborhood came off about sixty years ago at Pepperell; and I remember witnessing it. Another Cornwallis on a large scale occurred at Clinton in the year 1853, in which nine uniformed companies of militia, including the Groton Artillery, took part. On this occasion the burlesque display, both in numbers and details, far outshone all former attempts of a similar character, and, like the song of the swan, ended a custom that had come down from a previous century. At the present day nothing is left of this quaint celebration but a faded memory and an uncertain tradition.

The first settlers of Massachusetts brought with them from England a good supply of seeds and stones of various fruits, grains, and vegetables, which were duly planted. In this way was begun the cultivation of apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, hops, currants, etc., and in the course of a few years they raised fair crops of all these products.

As early as 1660 all inn-holders and tavern-keepers were required to have a license in order to be allowed to carry on their business; and they were obliged to be approbated by the selectmen of the town and to be licensed by the County Court. At the same time a restriction was placed on makers of cider who were not allowed to sell by retail, except under certain conditions; "and that it be only to masters of families of good and honest report, or persons going to Sea, and they suffer not any person to drink the same in their houses, cellars or yards." This reference, found in "The Book of the General Laws and Libertyes" (Cambridge, 1660), shows that at that early date in the history of the Colony the prohibitory principle was recognized by legislative enactment, and that it is by no means a modern idea. The reference shows furthermore that cider was made by the settlers at an early period. Few persons of the rising gen-

eration are aware of the great quantities of cider made fifty or seventy-five years ago on almost every farm in an agricultural community. I am placing the estimate within moderate bounds when I say that every good-sized farm in Groton had an apple orchard and a cider mill on the premises. Many a farmer would make all the way from ten to thirty barrels of cider for home use, besides what he would sell elsewhere or make into vinegar; and this large stock was kept in the cellars.

Many plants were brought originally to New England from other countries for their medicinal virtues, and many were introduced by chance. Some have multiplied so rapidly and grown so plentifully in the fields and by the roadside, that they are now considered common weeds. Wormwood, tansy, chamomile, yarrow, dandelion, burdock, plantain, catnip, and mint all came here by importation. These exotic plants made their way into the interior, as fast as civilization extended in that direction; though in some instances the seeds may have been carried by birds in their flight.

Dr. William Douglass, in "A Summary, Historical and Political, of the first Planting, progressive Improvements, and present State of the British Settlements in North America," published at Boston,—Volume I. in the year 1749, and Volume II. in 1753,—says:—

Near *Boston* and other great Towns, some Field Plants which accidentally have been imported from Europe, spread much, and are a great Nuisance in Pastures, . . . at present they have spread Inland from *Boston*, about 30 Miles (II. 207).

According to this statement, the pioneers of some of these foreign plants or weeds had reached the township of Groton near the middle of the eighteenth century. Dr. Douglass gives another fact about the town which may be worthy of preservation, as follows:—

There are some actual Surveys of Extents which ought not to be lost in Oblivion; as for Instance, from *Merrimack* River due West to *Groton* Meeting-House are 12 miles; from *Groton* Meeting House (as surveyed by Col. *Stoddard*, Major *Fulham*, and Mr. *Dwight*, by Order of the General Assembly) to North-field Meeting-House W. 16 d. N. by Compass, are 41 Miles and half (I. 425 note).

Such surveys, as those given in this extract, were of more value to the public, before the days of railroads, than they are now; but, as the author says, they "ought not to be lost in Oblivion."



The greatest advance in social and moral life during the last one hundred and twenty-five years has been in the cause of temperance. Soon after the period of the Revolution there arose an abuse of spirituous liquors, perhaps induced in part by the return home of young men from the army, who while absent had acquired the habit of drinking to excess. There was no public occasion, from a wedding to a funeral, or from the ordination of a minister to the raising of a house or barn, when rum in its many Protean shapes was not given out. It was set on the festive side-board, and used freely both by the old and young; and sometimes even the pastor of the church yielded to the insidious seduction of the stimulant. Liquors were sold at retail at most of the trading shops in town, and at the three taverns in the village. The late Elizur Wright, an eminent statistician, and nearly eighty years ago a resident of Groton, once told me in writing that, according to an estimate made by him at that period, the amount of New England rum sold here in one year was somewhat over 28,000 gallons. This was not a guess on his part, but was taken from the books of dealers in the fluid, who had kindly complied with his request for the amount of their sales during the previous year. We judge of the whole from the specimen.

It is generally supposed that the huge department stores in the large cities are a modern institution, so far as they relate to the variety of articles sold; but in this respect they are only an imitation of the country store. Fifty years ago the average trading shop kept about everything that was sold, from a pin to a plow, from silks and satins to stoves and shovels, and from tea and coffee to tin dippers and cotton drilling, flour, all kinds of dry goods and groceries, molasses, raisins, bricks, cheese, hats, nails, sperm oil, grindstones, boots and shoes, drugs and medicines, to say nothing of a supply of confectionery for children; besides a daily barter of any of the aforesaid articles for fresh eggs and butter. The traders were omnivorous in their dealings, and they kept on hand nearly everything that was asked for by the customers. In this respect they have set an example to the proprietors of department stores, who offer for sale an equally miscellaneous assortment of goods.

## FOOTLIGHTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

### THE OLD OAKEN BUCKET

The original well, so graphically described by Woodworth in his immortal poem, is in the village of Greenbush, a part of the town of Scituate, Mass. The house in which the author lived in his boyhood, still stands beside the well, and the "wide-spreading pond, and the mill that stood by it," may also yet be seen. The well and sweep remain the same as described so many years ago. It is a common sight at the present day to see the passer-by stop and take a drink from

The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,  
The moss-covered bucket that hangs in the well.

### INDIAN ROCK

Indian Rock is of basaltic formation, 500 feet long, on an island in the Columbia river, four miles from Calilo, Oregon. It has the appearance of an Indian reclining in a large chair. From time immemorial the Indians have worshipped the profile. They call the rock "The Great Spirit of the Columbia." There is a rapid current near the island which fact seems to add to the superstitious ideas of the Indians. Formerly they risked their lives once a year to visit this island to worship the rock.

### TURKEY FOOT ROCK

Fifteen miles from the mouth of the Maumee river, Ohio, a large rock rises six or eight feet above the surface of the water. Owing to an incident which occurred upon it during the troublesome times of 1790, it received the name of "Turkey Foot Rock." One of General Wayne's most sanguinary battles with the Indians took place here, and the chief of the Miami tribe, Turkey Foot, was slain upon this rock while attempting to escape—hence the name.

**BOONE'S JUDGMENT TREE**

A large, spreading elm tree stands upon a bank a few feet above a spring, near where the pioneer, Daniel Boone, built his cabin in the Femme Osage Valley, Mo., in 1800. Here, under the great branches, the backwoodsman who was appointed commandant by the French governor of the district held his court, expounded the law, and dispensed justice to his neighbors.

**PONCE DE LEON'S HOUSE**

Perhaps the most interesting object of our new possessions on the island of Porto Rico is La Casa Blanca, which Juan Ponce de Leon built for himself some 400 years ago, and where he lived during his term of governor of the island. The mansion stands in a narrow roughly paved street in the city of Ponce, and has a double line of splendid palms in front. The water side is guarded by a very ancient wall, and within is a charming garden, full of pepper and cinnamon trees. It was in this building that Leon planned his famous march for the illusory "Fountain of Youth," and his body was brought back to Porto Rico, where the lead casket, containing the remains of the great explorer, now lies buried.

**POMPEY'S PILLAR**

A massive, saffron-colored sandstone, an acre in base and four hundred feet high, located several miles above the mouth of the Big Horn river on the Yellowstone in Montana. About half way up the face of the almost perpendicular cliff, are carved these words:—"William Clark, July 25, 1806,"—presumably the handiwork of the great explorer, Lewis' companion.

**MOUNT MITCHELL**

Where the deep tangled wildwood in majesty lies,  
And beautiful nature a lone vigil keeps  
Far upward amid the blue vaulted skies,  
In deep shaded solitude, the adventurer sleeps.

This, the highest peak of the Appalachian system, is remarkable for

the tragic, historical episode attaching to it. The superior elevation of Mount Mitchell, N. C., was first ascertained by Prof. Elias Mitchell, the chemist, of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Upon a second ascension in 1857, he lost his way, and upon search made, several hours later, was found dead near a pool of water. In conformity to the request of relatives, his body was interred upon the summit of the mountain, amid the grand, primeval forest. Tourists have covered his grave with a monument of stones.

#### STARVED ROCK

From rocky crest with wooded crown,  
Where breezes reign supreme,  
Starved Rock for ages here looked down  
On Illinois' fairest stream.

A historical object, located on the Illinois river, eight miles from the city of Ottawa, Ill. It is a rocky bluff, rising from the margin of the stream to the height of more than a hundred feet, and is separated from the main land by a narrow chasm. Being almost perpendicular on all sides, the apex is reached only by a narrow, stair-like path.

Many years ago, the surrounding country was inhabited by the Illinois tribe of Indians, against which the neighboring Potawattamies waged a cruel warfare. Reduced to a few score of defeated warriors, the Illinois tribe took refuge upon this rock for safety. Here, for want of food, the helpless victims perished, one by one, preferring to die thus rather than by the tomahawk and scalping knife. A short distance east of Starved Rock, is what is known as "Lover's Rock." It towers to the height of 170 feet above the river.

FRANK M. VANCIL.

THOMPSON FALLS, MONTANA.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF WASHINGTON

**I** RECENTLY had occasion to make some original investigation in regard to the origin of the name and family of Washington, and found the results instructive and valuable.

The search takes one to a very interesting region in the extreme north of England—a worthy birthplace for the illustrious name of our national hero. The scenery is beautiful, the history romantic. The archæological remains are eloquent of centuries of heroic deeds.

Here the advancing wave of Roman civilization rolled up against the resistant shore of northern barbarism, and left its mark, like a line of bowlders left by the sea, in the great Wall extending from the Irish Channel to the North Sea. Many sections of this wall, variously called the Roman Wall, the Wall of Severus and Hadrian's Wall, are still standing. Newcastle-on-Tyne occupies the site of one of the old castles in this ancient barrier. Its name signifies its origin.

A thousand years after the advent of the Romans came the knights of William the Conqueror, who here again found occasion for their martial prowess. The people of the north were fierce and had to be kept in check, and here the Conqueror stationed some of his most valiant followers. A few miles south of the Roman Wall, the Normans found an advantageous military site upon a steep, rocky hill eighty-six feet high, almost completely surrounded by the River Wear (a tributary of the Tyne), and upon it, in 1072, built Durham Castle. The original name of Durham was Dunholm, from "dune," meaning hill and "holm" meaning island. Twenty-one years later the Prince of Durham began Durham Cathedral, one of the noblest specimens of Norman architecture in the kingdom—"half church of God, half castle 'gainst the Scots." These ancient and impressive buildings, parts of which were built four centuries before it was known that there was any America in existence, impress an American with the newness and youth of the United States.

The Prince of Durham, uniting temporal and ecclesiastical authority, was one of the most powerful prelates in England, his powers almost rivaling those of the sovereign. Among his followers, a hundred years after the Conquest, was a knight named William, who held in knight's fee the village of Hertburne. The modern custom of surnames was not

then in vogue, and this William was known as William de Hertburne,—that is, William of Hertburne. This village may now be identified as the village of Hebburn, north of Durham near the Tyne.

In the year 1183, or not long prior thereto, William of Hertburne exchanged his village for another called Wassington. Thereafter he was known as William de Wassington. He is the earliest of George Washington's ancestors traceable by the evidence—partly documentary and partly circumstantial—available at the present time, and this is the first linking together of the name and family. The name went through various orthographic changes. It was spelled Wassington, Wessington and Weschington, and finally settled down to Washington. The village of Wassington may be identified with the modern parish of Washington, lying between Durham and Hebburn.

Now how do we know that this William de Wassington was George Washington's ancestor? I think I can supply one link which has hitherto been missing. But before speaking of that, let me mention first an important documentary record, namely, the Boldon Buke. The Boldon Buke is a small volume written in mediæval Latin, in the year 1183, by order of Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, one of the most magnificent and powerful prelates who ever occupied the episcopal chair. It is a description of the revenues of the bishopric of Durham and an enumeration of the settled rents and customs payable to the Lord Bishop. It is called the Boldon Buke on account of the frequent occurrence therein of the name of the village of Boldon. It records among other things the duty due from William of Hertburne, who exchanged the village of Hertburne for the village of Wassington. For centuries the Boldon Buke was kept in Durham Castle, but was eventually transferred to the Records office in London, as I learned from a delightful correspondence with the ecclesiastical authorities of Durham. Following up a suggestion made by Dean Kitchin, I applied to Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyle, K. C. B., of the Records office, for permission to photograph the passage of such extraordinary interest to all Americans, and secured it. I have, therefore, the only negative ever made from it. The part photographed, reads as follows, with the abbreviations spelled out:

#### LATIN TEXT

Gilbertus filius Umfridi de Dunolm tenet in mora Newbotill xxxiiij acras terrae sibi et heredibus in perpetuum, reddendo annuatim Scaccario Dunolmensis xxviiij

solidos et iiij denarios ad quatuor terminos statutos in Episcopatu Dunolmensis et habebit viij boves in mora de Newbotill per cartam quam haber de Domino Episcopo.

Rogerus filius Roberti Bernard tenet xlvij acras in Helmygdene per divisas sicut in carta quam habet de Domino Waltero Episcopo Dunolmensis plenius continentur, reddendo x solidos ad Scaccarium Dunolmensis ad quatuor terminos in Episcopatu Dunolmensis constitutos.

Cestria, cum villanis et dominio sine instauramento et cum piscariis et molendino de eadem villa reddit xxiiij marcas.

Molendinum de Uрpath est ad firmam et reddit iiij marcas.

Pelhou et medietas de Piktре quasque Gualerannus de Cestria tenet, reddit ij marcas.

Willhelmus de Hertburna habet Wassyngtonam excepta ecclesia et terra ad ecclesiam pertinente in escambium pro villa de Hertburna, quam propter hoc quietam clamavit, et reddit iiij libras, et vadit in magna caza cum ij leporariis, et quando commune auxilium venerit debet dare unam marcam ad plus de auxilio.

#### TRANSLATION

Gilbert, son of Umfrid of Durham, holds in Newbottle Moor 34 acres of land for himself and his heirs forever, rendering yearly to the treasury of Durham twenty-eight shillings and four pence, at the four terms established in the Bishopric of Durham, and he shall pasture eight oxen on Newbottle Moor, according to the charter which he holds from the Lord Bishop.

Roger, son of Robert Bernard, holds forty-eight acres in Helmygdene according to the boundaries as more fully contained in the charter which he has from Lord Walter, Bishop of Durham, paying ten shillings to the treasury of Durham at the four terms established in the Bishopric of Durham.

Chester, with the villans and the demesne (or manor-house and lands), without stock, and with the fisheries, and the mill of that town, pays twenty-four marcs.

The mill of Uрpath is at farm (that is, rented out) and pays four marcs.

Pelaw, and the portion (or moiety) of Pictree which Waleran of Chester holds, renders 2 marcs.

William de Hertburne has Washington, except the church and the land belonging to the church, in exchange for the village of Hertburne, which he has quit-claimed on account of this, and he pays four pounds and goes in the great hunt with two greyhounds, and when a common tax is raised (literally, when a common aid shall come) he is obliged to give one marc for aid at the most.

The reader may notice that the last paragraphs, of both the Latin and my translation, differ from those given by Washington Irving in his *Life of Washington*. Irving probably never saw the passage in the original, and relied upon an incorrect transliteration of the mediæval text, which text is very puzzling. His error in giving "miletum" (man-at-arms) for "marcam" (mark), leads him into the other error of translating "auxilium" as "military aid" instead of pecuniary help. "Auxilium" is used in this passage as it is used repeatedly in *Magna Charta* (1215), in the sense of tax or pecuniary aid. If military aid had been meant, the Latin text would have been "servitium militare," as in *Magna Charta*.

In passing, the reader may be interested to notice that here we see the origin of the English signs for pound, shilling and penny,—L being the initial of the Latin *Libra*, S the initial of *Solidus*, and D the initial of *Denarius*; also the origin of our legal expression "quit-claim," from "quietam clamavit,"—"he has cried quits"; or more fully, "he has proclaimed his former ownership quieted."

Returning to Washington—neither Irving nor the other biographers of Washington have been able to give the generations connecting the well authenticated ancestors of Sulgrave Manor (*circa*, 1535), with William de Wassington of the Boldon Buke, owing to the loss of ancient parish records. But in my correspondence with Dean Kitchin of Durham, the Dean told me that at Durham they had a deed of William de Wessyngton, dated 1360, bearing the Washington seal. This he kindly had photographed for me. Upon its receipt, I was startled to discover that it bore exactly the same heraldic device that George Washington bore in his bookplate, and that the Sulgrave Washingtons had engraved on their manor house—the three five-pointed stars (really mullets, representing rowels of knights' spurs) and the two horizontal bars. The significance of this cannot be underestimated when we remember how strictly the descent of heraldic arms was regulated in those days, and I believe it is a valuable piece of testimony confirming the belief that the Hertburne-Wassington William was the ancestor of George Washington.

EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL.

NEW YORK CITY.



## THE DIARY OF A POET'S MOTHER

**T**HE mother of William Cullen Bryant closed and sealed each busy day with an entry in her diary. Her great-grandchildren now cherish the yellow, faded little volumes, homebound in coarse brown paper and sewed with linen thread of the writer's own spinning.

The general character of the brief entries in the old-fashioned hand, cramped yet firm, varies little from day to day. The weather is always given the first place. Bryant is supposed to have derived his poetic gift both by inheritance and training from his father rather than his plain, practical mother. No one can turn from these faded pages, however, without realizing that a woman who looked out every day on the rains, sunshine, clouds, and storms with this great interest, might well have had a nature poet for a son. She records not only a noble year for apples, good sap weather, and fine, wholesome air, but also the blooming of the lilacs, the coming of the leaves, and the starlight on the snow.

After the weather comes the brief record of the household tasks accomplished during the day. Their amount and variety would seem a miracle to the modern housewife, even to her who "does her own work" or thinks she does, little realizing how few of the old-time occupations associated with her calling are left.

Mrs. Bryant made the coats and breeches, the pinafores, pelisses, and tyers worn by her large family. She even made the green broadcloth suit that her husband wore in the Massachusetts Senate. The wool and tow came from sheep and flax raised on the home place. She gathered and prepared straw, braided it into hats, and, if they were for the women folk, even made flowers for their adorning. She raised geese and plucked them for pillows and feather beds, or used their skins for tippets. She made twine, and of the twine a harness. She kept her husband and children in handkerchiefs and stockings. She tended the bees, brewed beer, cleaned tripe, and manufactured sage cheese, sausage, candles, and soap. Her labors did not cease with the dark, but extended industriously to bedtime.

Evidently her heart's pride centered in her bedquilts, for in writing of these the laconic record becomes almost loquacious. One was "worsted, red and black the middle, red border pieced."

The brief daily entry, generally all told in a dozen words, closes with some item of news. William Cullen's birth is recorded in the earliest of the little books, the volume of 1794, which is a lady's memorandum bound in green velvet. Possibly this was a gift and first moved her to keep the diary continued in the home-made booklets.

Nov. 3rd. Stormy; wind N. E.; churned; seven at night a son born.

Nov. 4. Clear; wind N. W.; got up; Hannah Cobb came; Mamma went home.

Nov. 5. Clear; wind N. W.; made Austin a coat. Sat up all day; went into the kitchen. Mr. Dawes died; buried at nine in the evening; washing done.

From this time on, William's appearance in the record is usually connected with some articles of clothing made for him, though once we read, "Sarah and William went to pick boxberries in Captain Warner's Swamp." This is an eloquent item when we realize that Sarah was the favorite younger sister mourned in "The Death of the Flowers."

Another significant trifle is the frequent softening of Sarah's name into Sallie. William is always William, and Adeline is Adeline, but frail, dainty Sarah is sometimes Sallie.

#### FAMILY TRADITION

Here we may piece out the diary with family tradition. John Bryant, the youngest brother, who was a boy of fourteen when she died, carried through life a shadowy portrait of a tall, slender girl with very fair complexion and very long auburn hair. She was beloved by a young Dr. Shaw, who had studied with her father.

Thursday; clear and cool; baked cake and pies; afternoon Sarah married.

"Till death do us part" must have fallen heavily on the heart of the bridegroom, as she was already doomed, and her end from consumption is recorded two brief years later. The poet's father, the rugged country doctor who had once been able to throw a barrel of cider over the wheel into a wagon, succumbed to the same disease.

In the year 1835, the widowed mother decided to move from Cummington, Mass., to Princeton, Ill., where she had been preceded by several of her children. She was accompanied by her daughter, Louisa, her son, Austin, and the latter's wife and children.

First came the "vendue" of the household goods. Think of the priceless colonial furniture knocked down to the neighbors for almost nothing! The journey from Massachusetts to Illinois occupied a month. The diary expands into a journal, bespeaking both interest in the world and more time for writing.

The party reached Albany by stage the third day after leaving Cummington, and embarked on a crowded, noisy, uncomfortable canal boat. Mrs. Bryant speaks of the rich farming country and enterprising young cities. There was time enough for observation, as they were eight days travelling from Albany to Buffalo.

They embarked in the schooner *Navigation* for Chicago by way of the lakes. The cabin was small and crowded with crying children, so there was no rest day or night. When seasickness was added to their other discomforts, they were miserable, indeed. The men "tarried on deck." Almost always the schooner "lay by for the night, which was a great comfort."

After leaving Detroit, many days were wasted on account of contrary winds. Frequently the vessel ran on to a sandbank and was hours getting clear. Once another craft ran into the *Navigation* at night, but no harm was done. Evidently the passengers brought their own provisions and did their own cooking. Mrs. Bryant mentions a breakfast of codfish, toast, and tea. During a calm, the men rowed to shore and brought back fuel, boxberries, and cowslips for greens.

They had left Buffalo the 21st of May. They arrived in Chicago the 7th of June. The "steamboat hotel" was full, and they were obliged to take lodgings where there were only four beds to fourteen people. In these days Princeton is two hours by train from Chicago. The Bryants were five days traversing the muddy plains with a horse and wagon. The roads were wretched, the mud very deep, the rivers swollen, and the lodgings at night poor and uncertain. One night the men slept on a bag of wool in a miserable log hut; Mrs. Bryant and her daughter slept on the floor. Another night she remarks without explanation or comment that

they slept under the bed. They reached Princeton the 14th of June, found all well, and washed their clothes.

From this time on she resided at Princeton with her daughter Louisa, and visited the other children settled about her. Evidently she took an active share in the household tasks. Mud and malaria seemed to be ever-present facts. The handwriting grows more and more tremulous, the entries less frequent toward the last, until they cease altogether, and the book of her day is closed.

AMANDA MATHEWS.

*Evening Post*, N. Y.



## INDIAN LEGENDS

### I.

#### THE SHOOTING METEORS

**A**MONG the Indians who live upon the north-eastern shore of Lake Huron, a remnant of the Iroquois, it is believed that the heavens contain only four meteors which have the power of shooting through the sky. It is thought they severally occupy the four quarters of the compass, and that they never perform their arrowy journey excepting for the purpose of warning the Huron Indians of approaching war. The meteors in question, or *Pun gung-nung*, are recognized by their peculiar brilliancy, and universally considered the Manitoes or guardian spirits of the entire Indian race. They came into existence at the same period of time which witnessed the creation of Lake Huron itself, and the legend which accounts for their origin is distinguished for the wild and romantic fancies of the aborigines. I obtained it from a chief named *On qwa-sug*, or Floating Wood.

It was the winter time, and an Indian with his wife and two children, a daughter and a son, were living in a wigwam on a bleak peninsula of the Great Lake. The game of that section of country had nearly all disappeared, and the fish were spending the season in such deep water, that it was quite impossible to secure any of them for food. Everything seemed to go wrong with the poverty-stricken Indian, and he was constantly troubled with the fear that the Master of Life intended to annihilate his family and himself by starvation. He expressed his anxiety to his wife, and was surprised to hear her answer with a song.

Nearly half a moon had passed away, and the sufferings of this unfortunate family were melancholy in the extreme. Whole days did the father spend roaming through the forests, with his bow and arrows, and on four several evenings had he returned without even a pair of tiny snow-birds for supper. The ill luck which attended him in his expeditions made him very miserable, but he was frequently astonished and alarmed, on such occasions, by the conduct of his wife and children. When he gave them an account of his ill luck in obtaining game, instead

of manifesting any anxiety, they usually ran about the wigwam with their fingers on their mouths, and uttering a singular moan. He noticed with fear that they were becoming greatly emaciated for the want of food. So deeply grieved was the poor man, that he almost resolved to bury himself in the snow and die. He made a better resolution and again went out to hunt.

On this occasion he had wandered into the woods to an unusual distance and as fortune would have it, was successful in finding and shooting a single rabbit. With the speed of a deer did he return to his cabin (with his braided shoes over the crusted snow), but he now met with a new disappointment. On entering his lodge he found the fire entirely out, and the simple utensils for cooking all scattered about in great confusion; but what was far more melancholy, his wife and children were gone, and he knew not where to find them. The more he thought upon what had happened for many days past, the more bewildered did he become. He threw down his game almost in despair, and hurried out of his cabin in search of his missing family. He looked in every direction, but could see no signs of their appearing, and the only noise that he could possibly hear was a singular and most doleful moan, resembling the wail of a loon, which seemed to come from the upper air. By a natural instinct he raised his eyes towards the heavens, and beheld perched upon the dry limb of a tall tree, which stood a short distance off, all the members of his family. He shouted with delight at the unexpected spectacle, and, rushing towards the tree, told his wife and children that they must come down, for he had killed a rabbit, and they would now have a good feast. But again was he astonished to find his words unheeded. Again did he beseech them to come down, but they replied not a single word, and looked upon him with eyes that seemed made of fire. And what was still more wonderful, it was evident that they had thrown aside their beaver and deer-skin dresses, and were now decked out in newly fashioned robes, made of the fur of the white fisher and the white fox. All this was utterly inexplicable, and the poor husband re-entered his lodge, bewildered and perplexed to a marvelous degree.

Then it was that the idea entered his head that he would try an experiment, by appealing to the hunger of his obstinate wife and children. He therefore cleaned the rabbit and made a sweet soup which he carried out, and with which he endeavored to allure his friends to the earth. But this attempt was all in vain. The mother and her children expressed no

desire for the food, and still remained upon the tree, swaying to and fro like a flock of large birds. Again in his wretchedness was he about to destroy himself, but he took the precaution to appropriate the soup to its legitimate purpose. Soon as this business was accomplished, he relapsed into his former state of melancholy, from which he was suddenly aroused by the moans of his wife, which he was sure had an articulate tone. Again was he riveted to his standing place under the magic tree, and from the moaning of his wife he gathered the following intelligence. She told him that the Master of Life had fallen in love with her and her two children, and had therefore transformed them all into spirits, with a view of preparing them for a home in the sky. She also told him that they would not depart for their future home until the coming spring, but would, in the meantime, roam in distant countries till the time of his own transportation should arrive. Having finished her communication, she and her children immediately commenced a song, which resembled the distant winds, when they all rose gracefully from the tree, and leaning forward upon the air, darted away across the lake toward the remote South.

A cheerless and forlorn moon did the poor Indian spend in his lonely lodge on the margin of the Great Lake. Spring came, and just as the last vestige of snow had melted from the woods, and at the quiet evening hour, his spirit-wife again made her appearance, accompanied by her two children. She told her husband that he might become a spirit by eating a certain berry. He was delighted with the idea, and, complying with her advice, he suddenly became transformed into a spirit, and having flown to the side of his wife and children, the party gradually began to ascend into the air when the Master of Life thought proper to change them into a family of Shooting Stars. He allotted to each a particular division of the heavens, and commanded them to remain there forever, as the guardians of the great nation of Lake Huron.

(THE LATE) CHARLES LANNON.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

## COMMUNICATIONS

---

WANTED: AN INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIC EXCHANGE FOR HISTORICAL DATA.

THE study of history, biography and genealogy is now of such general interest that there is great need of improvement in the means of intercommunication between investigators. It is a slow, laborious, and not always pleasing task to be obliged to collect all one's own material. Much valuable time is wasted. Still more important, however, is the fact that no one person, unaided, can hope to adequately treat of any subject, in view of the great flood of literature to be examined.

Of general indices, bibliographies, readers' guides, reference books, etc., there are many, but all these are only steps toward that perfect coöperation which is required and which, perhaps, is not unattainable.

A central bureau for the exchange of bibliographical references would be very useful, even if, at first, confined to family history where the need of coöperation is peculiarly manifest. The periodicals mentioned below form examples of the media through which such coöperation, as applied to genealogy, can be encouraged:

### ENGLISH ANCESTRY

*Notes and Queries*; a medium of intercommunication for literary men, general readers, etc. 1849 to date. Sq. Oct. London: *Notes and Queries* Office, Bream's buildings, Chancery Lane, E. C. 1849 to date. Weekly. 10s. 6d. per vol., subs. 17s. 4d. per year. (See Index to each half-yearly volume, and General Index to every twelve volumes. Series 10, vol. 1, begins January, 1904.)

### FRENCH ANCESTRY

*L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*. 1864 to date. Oct. Paris: l'Administration de l'Intermédiaire . . . 31 bis, rue Victor Massé, 1864 to date. Three times a month. Subs. 18 fr. per year. See Index to each volume, also general index, "Table générale des matières, qui va jusqu' à la fin de 1896.")



*Note.*—A set is in the Library of Congress, Washington. Contains much of interest to Americans of French-Huguenot descent.

#### SCOTTISH ANCESTRY

*Scottish Notes and Queries.* 1887 to date. Sq. Oct. Aberdeen: the Rosemount Press, 1887 to date. Monthly. Subs. 4s. per year. (See Index to each vol.)

*Note.*—A promising field of inquiry for American genealogists seeking vital records in Scotland.

Querists often possess or can easily locate material bearing upon subjects outside their own special investigations. Here, therefore, is a practical basis for exchange of notes, to the ultimate benefit of all concerned. The point to emphasize is that all correspondents must join hands and be as ready to answer as to ask questions. A spirit of reciprocity or mutual helpfulness should be inculcated. There is no more certain way to secure assistance in any search than to make it known that bread cast upon the waters surely will return. It is not enough to offer in exchange material relating to the subject of one's own query, for those who could answer it may be most interested in quite another topic on which the querist should endeavor to supply data. The means are at hand; why not use them?

The Librarian of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, 18 Somerset Street, Boston, Mass., recently collected more than 500 reports of genealogies in preparation. From this list data will be supplied upon request. It is unfortunate that that society does not possess a building affording ample protection from fire. The Chicago Historical Society is much better situated in that respect. Its substantial edifice is a safe repository for valuable manuscripts. A bibliography of the historical societies in America will be found in the publications of the American Historical Association. All these bodies together should form the foundation for an extensive exchange of bibliographical notes on historical topics.

EUGENE F. McPIKE.

CHICAGO.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

---

### LETTER OF WASHINGTON

[Addressed to Col. Jonathan Dayton, and dated Philadelphia, January 28, 1782. It refers to the trouble at Wyoming, Pa., between the settlers from Connecticut and Pennsylvania, which in 1787 culminated in the "Pennamite and Yankee War." The abuse of flags of truce was a subject of much annoyance to Washington throughout the Revolution. A case in point, at this very landing (Elizabethtown, N. J.), had led, in 1780, to the murder of the noted Rev. David Caldwell.]

SIR:

I am glad to find that you have got rid of the person who embarrassed you. Inclosed you have my acceptance of Colo. D. Harts resignation, which be pleased to deliver to him. I cannot grant that of Major Hollingshead, before he himself signifies a desire of leaving the service. . . .

I am of opinion with you that the most flagrant abuses are committed under the cover of flags to and from New York and am willing to adopt any measures to prevent a continuance of them. I have no papers with me but those of a late date and therefore cannot refer to the instructions formally given to you upon this subject. If I recollect them they were to put a stop to the practice of Flags going and coming at stated times, and to suffer no persons to go on board or to land from the Boats except those who have proper passports. All letters to be delivered to the Officer on Guard at Elizabeth Town. . . .

Previous to seeing your letter to General Hand, I had heard that there was some uneasiness in the Company stationed at Wyoming and had determined to relieve it. You will therefore order up a relief as soon as the troops are cloathed.

I have no new instructions to the Officer who is to go upon the Command. He will call upon Captain Mitchell for those given to him and follow them. You may give him this general caution to confine himself to his military duty and avoid intermeddling in the politics of Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

Your most obt. Hmble Servt  
G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON

## THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS

[Letter of Captain John Gooch, 7th Continental Infantry, describing the battle of Harlem Heights. The writer was afterwards distinguished at the capture of Fort Washington. Lieutenant Colonel (Archibald) Crary, whom he mentions, was of Rhode Island, and commanded Gooch's regiment at the time. (Communicated by Captain A. A. Folsom, Boston. The original is in the possession of the Bostonian Society.)]

NEW JERSEY FORT CONSTITUTION *Sept. 23. 1776*

Sir

the many favors Received from you will ever hold a gratefull plase in my heart, and I flatter my self a Letter will not prove dissagreeable, as I look on my self obliged in gratitude to let you hear from me, as I know you must be anctious for a certainty of events of which you can have at that distance but a confused account, as I was on the spot will indeaver to give you as concise & Just account as possible; on the 15<sup>th</sup> Inst we evacuated New York & took all stores of every kind out of the City, and took Possession of hights of Haerlem eight miles from the City, the Enimy incamp'd about two miles from us; on the 16<sup>th</sup> the Enimy advanced and took Possession of a hight on our Right Flank abt. half a mile Distance with about 3000 men, a Party from our Brigade of 150 men who turned out as Volanteers under the Command of Lieut. Colo. Crary of the Regmt. I belong to were ordered out if possible to dispossess them, in about 20 minits the Engagement began with as terrible a fire as I ever heard, when Orders Came for the whole Brigade imediately to march to Support the first detachment, the Brigade Consisted of abt. 900 men, we immidiately formed in front of the Enimy and march'd up in good order through their fire, which was incessant till within 70 yards, when we Engaged them in that situation we Engaged them for one hour & eight minits, when the Enimy Broke & Ran, we persued them to the next hights, when we were ordered to Retreat, Our Core (Corps') (loss) does not exceed in killd and wounded twenty-five men, the lose of the Enimy was very Considerable but cannot be ascertained, as we observed them to Carry of their dead and wounded the whole time of the Engagement, they left a Number of killd and wounded on the Field of Battle & a great number of Small Armes, the great superiority of numbers and every other advantage the Enimy had, when Considered makes the Victory Glorious, and tho' but over a part of their Army, yet the Consequences of it are attended with advantages very great, as they imediately quited the heights all round us and have not been troublesome since, our people behaved with the greatest

Spirit, and the New England men have gained the first Laurels. I received a slight wound in the ankle at the first of the Engagement but never quitted the Field during the Engagement. I'm now ready to give them the second part whenever they have an appetite, as I'm Convinced whenever (they) Stir from their Ships we shall drubb them.

Every thing here is very dear Rum 16/ L. M. pr Galls and every thing in proportion I expect see you in Jan<sup>r</sup> if heaven spares me when perhapps may fall on a sceme that you may think advantageous as it will be impossible for me to stay in the Army for eight pounds pr month should Esteem my self very (happy) in having a line, my Best Respects to your Lady & Family

I am with a due sense of obligations  
Your oblig'd & most obd<sup>t</sup> Servant

JOHN GOOCH

To  
THOMAS FAYERWEATHER Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Merch<sup>t</sup>  
In Boston

---

LETTER FROM GENERAL POPE TO SENATOR DOOLITTLE

[The following letter has never been published before. It shows General Pope's feelings six months after the eventful period we have been noticing. It is unfortunate that the letter to Secretary Chase has not been found. The Pope letter was found by Duane Mowry, Esq., of Milwaukee, among the private papers of the late ex-Senator Doolittle in his possession and is furnished by him.—Ed.]

MILWAUKEE, *May*, 12, '63.

MY DEAR JUDGE :

When you have finished with the letter to Mr. Chase and the map I left with you the other day, will you please return them to me? I have no other copy of the letter.

In the light of our late reverses on the Rappahannock, the views set forth in the letter seem to me to have especial value. Our great danger now is to Rosecrans' army, and you can readily see that after the reverses at Charleston & Fredericksburg, the enemy having little to fear in either

quarter for a long time to come, can readily reinforce Bragg sufficiently from both places to enable him to overpower Rosecrans.

If Rosecrans be defeated or forced to fall back, all our forces in the West are at once precipitated upon the Free States and the Ohio river will be our most advanced line. I need not point out to you the dreadful disaster to our cause which must result from such a state of things. The only thing which protects us against it is the Army of Rosecrans, which seems to me more than ever in a critical position since late events in the East. It is idle to talk of the advance of the Potomac Army upon Richmond for some time to come with any sort of hope of success. The people do not understand & the Gov't will not understand the true cause of our late reverse on the Rappahannock. I told you plainly why it happened & why it will continue to be the history of that Army.

I see no hope for us, but rather extreme danger or worse things, unless our military strength in the West is united under one head & some such plan as I have suggested in my letter to Mr. Chase be adopted & carried into execution *at once*.

Every day of delay endangers us more. I feel so keenly on this subject that I cannot but strive to impress it upon your mind in the hope that you may see the matter as I do and will use your whole influence to arouse the President to the true state of facts and the true policy.

If you have leisure please let me hear from you on the subject, as I am and shall be, restless and uneasy until I know that some steps are being taken to shield us from much greater disaster.

Very sincerely yours,

JNO. POPE.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

---

### REPLIES

#### REVOLUTIONARY FLAGS (January Magazine)

I have seen three flags carried in Revolutionary days; one at York, Pa., a small affair of the true thirteen stars and thirteen stripes. It came, duly authenticated with documents, from an octogenarian lady, daughter of a clergyman. In Sullivan's march against the Indians, in 1779, a "rattlesnake flag" was carried, which, in a fragmentary state, backed on some textile stuff to hold it together, is preserved in the rooms of the Rhode Island Historical Society, at Providence. At Schenectady, N. Y., in the Loan Exhibition at the anniversary of the First Reformed Dutch Church, in June, I saw a flag which was carried by the Minute Men and Sons of Liberty, inscribed with the historic motto "Liberty or Death." It was publicly and continuously used

before and during the Revolution, at the meetings and demonstrations of the Sons of Liberty. By the way, now that John Paul Jones should have all the honors due him, let also Johannes de Graeff, Governor of the Island of St. Eustatius, Dutch West Indies (whence probably half the ammunition and clothing supplies of Washington's army were secured), have also his meed of praise. On November 16, 1776, after reading the Declaration of Independence, this Dutch Governor ordered a salute of eleven guns fired in honor of the flag. This was the first salute given by a foreign magistrate to the flag of the United States of America; then without stars, but with a stripe representing each state, exactly as in the Dutch Republic. This was the originating cause of the war declared by Great Britain against Holland.

W. E. GRIFFIS.

Ithaca, N. Y.

## GENEALOGICAL

---

All communications for this department (including genealogical publications for review) should be sent to William Prescott Greenlaw, Commonwealth Hotel, Boston, Mass.

### NOTES

CUSHMAN—Very little is known of the ancestry of the leaders of that separatist movement which culminated in the establishment of Plymouth Colony. The following items concerning one of the Pilgrims have long been in print, yet do not seem to have been used for what they are worth. Perhaps, brought together here, they may aid some descendant in ascertaining the lineage of Robert Cushman and his two wives.

"1617. May 19, June 3.—ROBERT CUSHMAN, wool carder, of Canterbury, in England, widower of Sarah Cushman, accompanied by John Kebel, with

MARY CHINGELTON (Singleton?) of Sandwich, widow of Thomas Chingelton, accompanied by Catharine Carver, (wife of John Carver.)" The name of Cushman is spelt *Coetsman*—(Marriages at Leyden. *The Historical Magazine*, vol. 3, p. 263).

1606. July 31. "Robert Cushman vnto Sara Reder dwelling with in [the] Pr'cinct's of Christchurche"—(Marriages. *Parish Register of St. Alphaege*, Canterbury, p. 113).

"Shingleton, Thomas, of Sandwich,

shoemaker, and Mary Clarke, s. p., v. At St. M. Bredman's, Cant. Jan. 28, 1610."—(*Canterbury Marriage Licences*, First Series, p. 374).

"1691. Elder Thomas Cushman dyed December 11: having within two months finished the 84th year of his life."—(*Cushman Genealogy*, p. 90).

FRENCH, POOLE, LAMB, THAYER—"Octo. 28 [1687]. Thomas Thair was married to Mary Pool, y<sup>e</sup> man belonged to Mendam, y<sup>e</sup> woman to Braintry."—(*Register of Marriages* in Milton, Mass., from the diary of Rev. Peter Thacher, page 1).

The only Mary Poole known to the genealogists of the Poole families of New England was Mary, daughter of Samuel<sup>2</sup> (*Edward*<sup>1</sup>) and Mary —, who was born at Weymouth, Mass., Nov. 20, 1668. (See *Poole Genealogy*, 1893, p. 9, and *N. E. H. G. Register*, vol. 20, p. 241).

A paper found in the Suffolk County Probate Files in connection with a marriage contract between John French and Eleanor Veazie of Braintree, filed by "John French & Dependance French Administrat<sup>rs</sup> to the estate of John French late of Braintree dec<sup>d</sup> their father," shows that the "persons concerned in s<sup>d</sup> estate are John French the eldest son Dependance French, Thomas French, Samuell French, William French the orphan of William French dec<sup>d</sup> Two daughters, viz. Temperance

Bowditch wife of Jn<sup>o</sup> Bowditch, Elizabeth Wheelock of Mendon; children of Mary Lamb dec<sup>d</sup> are Mary Poole, Aliis [alias] Thayer by her first husband Poole & John Lamb Samuell Lamb Margaret Lamb, Mary Lamb, Grace Lamb, Hannah Lamb."—*N. E. H. G. Register* vol. 12, p. 353).

Record of John Lamb's children from Braintree records:

By wife Mary:

John, b. 5 Nov. 1677.

Margaret, b. 26 Feb. 1678.

Mary, b. 15 Oct. 1680.

Grace, b. 15 Oct. 1680.

Hannah, b. 19 Oct. 1683.

Samuel, b. 7 Feb. 1686.

By second wife, Lydia:

Joseph, b. 25 June, 1690.

Jemimah, b. 14 June, 1693.

It appears from the foregoing that John and Grace French of Braintree

had a daughter Mary, not given by Vinton (*Vinton Memorial*, p. 318), who married first Samuel Poole, son of Edward and Sarah (Pinney) Poole, and second John Lamb.

BURT—"1619. Dec. 23. Henry Burt of Harberton and Ulalia Marche of Deanprior." (*Vivian's Marriage Licenses of the Diocese of Exeter*, p. 66). Ulalia Burt, widow of Henry Burt of Springfield, died Aug. 19, 1690. (*Burt Genealogy*, 1892, p. 32). This item was first brought to my attention by Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett, of Boston, who devotes a great deal of time to the examination of the printed parish registers in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Mr. Aaron Ferry Randall afterwards found it, and caused it to be published in the *Springfield Republican*.

---

## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

---

### The Montgomery County Historical Society.

This Society has just acquired the historic dwelling known as Fort Johnson, near the present station of Akin, on the New York Central Railroad, and will maintain it as an historic show-place. It was built by Sir William Johnson in 1742-3, and is one of the three connected with the Johnson name; the others being Johnson Hall, Johnstown, and Guy Park, Amsterdam.

### The New York Historical Society.

The original MS. of Philip Hone's *Diary* (1828-1851), has been presented to the Society by his descendants. A remarkable collection of Stuyvesant portraits has also been presented, comprising Nicholas William (son of the famous Governor Peter), Cerardus (grandson) Nicholas William and Peter (great grandsons) Nicholas William (great-great-grandson) and Peter (great-great-great-grandson).



## BOOK NOTICES

---

**HISTORY OF HADLEY, INCLUDING THE EARLY HISTORY OF HATFIELD, SOUTH HADLEY, AMHERST AND GRANBY, MASSACHUSETTS.** By SYLVESTER JUDD, with an introduction by GEORGE SHELDON, also Family Genealogies by LUCIUS M. BOLTWOOD. Published by H. R. HUNTING & COMPANY, Springfield, Mass. 1905. Octavo, pp. XLIV.+504+205. Price \$6.00.

The first edition of this book has been out of print and scarce since the date of its publication, the advance subscriptions having outnumbered the copies printed, and the few second-hand copies that have come into the market have readily sold for two or three times the price of this new edition. This reprint will satisfy the demand for the original book, and many of those who have the first edition will want the second also, because of the additional matter it contains.

There are many reasons for commending this new edition. The mechanical work of printing and binding are very well done, the paper used seems to be of a far better quality than that in common use for such books, and the new and more complete indices render the contents available for quick reference. The illustrations are good; especially appropriate is the photogravure portrait of the author, whose pen was arrested by death midway in his task. A similar portrait of the late Mr. Boltwood, who finished the work begun by Mr. Judd, would not be out of place among the illustrations.

An introduction, dealing largely with the regicides, Goffe and Whalley, written by a scholar whose knowledge of the region is unsurpassed, and a short appendix (altogether too brief) which brings the record of im-

portant events down to 1905, are the notable additions in the new edition.

The text is a verbatim reprint of the earlier edition, but does not agree in pagination—a defect noticeable chiefly in verifying quotations—yet largely offset by the superior indices of the new edition. Had the reprint been page for page, as in the case of Deane's Scituate, there would have been a reason for reprinting the addenda as addenda. The same reason would have applied to the reprinting of the old story of the regicide appearing as the "Angel of Hadley," notwithstanding the utter destruction of that beautiful myth by the Hon. George Sheldon in the introduction of this edition. But even that reason would not have excused the use of the engraving sometimes called the "Angel of Hadley," illustrating the very story which Mr. Sheldon proves a myth.

---

**EVERY DAY LIFE IN THE COLONIES.** By GERTRUDE L. STONE and M. GRACE FICKETT. 12mo. pp. XI.+119. Boston. D. C. HEATH & Co., Publishers. 1905.

The main purpose of this little volume is to interest children in the child life of long ago, in the pastimes, occupations, apparel and homes of the English colonists in America. By means of short stories, told in an interesting manner, the child who reads this book gets glimpses of historical scenes of colonial times, which ought to stimulate the imagination of the young student and create a desire for further information. The subjects of the stories are, a Christmas on the Mayflower in 1620, the dame school, a Puritan Sabbath soap-making, Indian warfare, candle-making, sundials, letter writing, a May Day journey and the poor debtor's children.

# HISTORY OF HADLEY

INCLUDING THE

EARLY HISTORY OF HATFIELD, SOUTH  
HADLEY, AMHERST AND GRANBY

MASSACHUSETTS

BY SYLVESTER JUDD  
WITH FAMILY GENEALOGIES

NEW EDITION WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, ADDITIONS, AND COMPLETE INDEX, 670 PAGES

**\$6.00 NET**

EDITION LIMITED TO 1000 COPIES

H. R. HUNTING & COMPANY  
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Every person interested in New England history should be grateful to your firm for having brought out a new edition of Mr. Judd's valuable History of Hadley. I am familiar with the work in its original edition and your reprint is faithful in every detail, while the additional features of George Sheldon's introduction, the illustrations, etc., give the book an added value. In typography, press work and binding, the volume is highly creditable to the publishers. There is now no reason why this splendid historical work should not be in the hands of every student of history and in every library.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD P. GUILD,  
Former President of the Heath Historical Society

## THE FRANKLIN BOOK SHOP

S. N. RHOADS, Proprietor.

1105 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Old and Rare items in Nature Study and Americana.

Publisher of Rhoads' Reprint of Ord's North American Zoology and the Mammals of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In preparation, illustrated work on Peale's MSS. Journals of the Long's and Wilkes' Exploring Expeditions, 1819, 1841. Send for Prospectus. Special discounts on last catalogue Geology, Ethnology, Etc. Send for it.

Established In 1833

RARE AND INTERESTING

BOOKS

AUTOGRAPHS AND ENGRAVINGS

Relating to American History

ARE OFFERED IN NEARLY EVERY SALE HELD BY

**The Anderson Auction Company**

(Successors to Bangs & Co.)

NO. 5 WEST 29TH STREET, NEW YORK

**Sales of Private Collections a Specialty**

## REMINISCENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR

by

**GEN. JOHN B. GORDON**

With Three Portraits \$1.50 Net

This is a new and cheaper edition of this book which has been accepted as one of the greatest books on this greatest conflict in our history.

**PAUL JONES, Founder of the American Navy**

by

**AUGUSTUS C. BUELL**

Illustrated, 2 Vols. \$3.00 Net

Paul Jones as a whole has never before been presented to us and under the skillful hand of Mr. Buell he becomes a living entity and new historical character capable of being measured in relation to the men of his day.—N. Y. Times-Saturday Review.

**CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS**

**VOL. II**

**No. 4**

**THE**  
**MAGAZINE OF HISTORY**

**WITH**  
**NOTES AND QUERIES**

**OCTOBER, 1905**

**WILLIAM ABBATT**  
**281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**Published Monthly**

**\$5.00 a Year**

**50 Cents a Number**

A COMPLETE INDEX TO THE  
**Magazine of American History**  
1877-1893

In one Volume, sq. octavo (same size as the Magazine itself)

**PRICE \$7.50 NET**

Every student who has had occasion to consult the bound volumes of Mrs. Lamb's famous magazine has felt the need of a separate index covering the whole work, from January, 1877, to its end in September, 1898. Every librarian, also, will appreciate this handy form. It will be printed in type *two sizes larger* than the old index found in each volume, and be exactly the same size in itself, so as to agree perfectly with the bound volumes in appearance.

As soon as a reasonable number of subscriptions have been received, printing will be begun and the copies delivered as soon as possible thereafter.

**About 325-350 Pages**

As only 500 copies will be made, and the type distributed as soon as the sheets have been printed, the work will soon be out of print. Early application is therefore desirable. Address the

**MAGAZINE OF HISTORY**

With Notes and Queries

**WILLIAM ABBATT, Publisher**

281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

# THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

---

VOL. II

OCTOBER, 1905

No. 4

---

## THE BRITISH NAVY IN THE REVOLUTION

**I**N the study of the events of the Revolution, one cannot but be impressed with the important share which the movements and achievements of the navy of Great Britain, had in deciding the military events. It has often been remarked that had King George been as well served ashore, as he was afloat, the Revolution might have ended very differently. Therefore, it may be assumed that the history of that great struggle will not be entirely complete until the work done at sea on both sides is more fully dealt with in its bearing on the land operations.

In such a study, the material facts are available to an extent which does not seem to be widely known; for in the great Public Record Office of the Crown, in Chancery Lane, London, are stored away the actual orders, reports and correspondence of the naval officials of that period, and in addition the actual log books of the vessels. The former include Admirals' despatches, filed in the Navy Side, under the heading "Admiralty Secretary, In Letters," and those relating to the strife with the thirteen colonies, during the period 1774 to 1784 inclusive, are indexed by the name of the "North American Station," and numbered 484, 485, 486, 487 and 488. Of the mass of interesting material therein I was able, during a short visit, only to examine hastily one great package, which I found teeming with details of the affairs of the time, the confidential communications not only of the superior, but of subordinate officers on different stations, captured papers, reports of spies, and lists of captured vessels, men, and goods.

These papers are entirely free of access to any person, the only requirement being that they shall be examined in public, that no ink shall be used in copying, and that they are returned after every session.

Up to a date one hundred years ago, the papers are available without any introduction or order, but if the enquirer should desire those of more recent date, a special order must be obtained. The courtesy of Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, K. C. B., Deputy Keeper of the Records, and of W. Stamp, his assistant must be acknowledged by myself, and will undoubtedly be experienced by other enquirers into these matters.

It is extremely interesting to the student of history thus to handle and read the very documents which, received by the then authorities from the scene of actual hostilities, did so much in themselves to affect the course of events.

These official naval documents may be supplemented by examination of the contemporary military papers of the period, those emanating from the pseudo-civil governors of the colonies containing especially interesting matter.

Of these a number of the despatches of Governor Tryon to Lord George Germain, will be found in the Colonial Office Records, under heading "America and West Indies." Those of 1780, for instance, are indexed No. 189—a bundle which contains some fascinating papers, such as the original reports of spies, a number of these signed by one especially active scoundrel whose signature, A. Z., is frequent, and his suggestions for the confounding of the American forces full of a lively personal interest. On the reports of deserters and spies, many favorable prognostications are founded by the writers of these despatches, and much may be learned of the policy and directions which led to some of the stirring events of that period.

Another source of information of a most detailed character is the large collection of log-books of the various war vessels. These were, in those days, kept not only by the Captains, and by the Lieutenants in command, but separate books were also kept by the sailing masters. Of the two former, those of the Lieutenants being practically duplicates of the Commanders', have been destroyed, but the Captains' and Masters' books are preserved.

These books are in the original bindings and are of a most interesting character, carefully noting the time and nature of every occurrence in which the ship took part, as well as the surrounding circumstances of weather, sea and course.

From them may thus be obtained not only much new information of the details of actions, but confirmative and corrective matters of time and place.

In the course of a study of the operations of the British marine in the waters of New York, I found myself confronted by contradictions of a very annoying nature in the published accounts of the events of 1776, but upon reference to these log books many of these points were fully cleared up. Of some of these I hope at a future date to be able to give details, but the purpose of this article being to afford to others the knowledge of the existence and accessibility of the source of this information, I shall here give only the index numbers of the log-books of the most important vessels, which bore a prominent part in the Revolution.

The well-known names of the redoubtable men-of-war, frigates, armed brigs and schooners will recall to my readers events in which these took part, and the significant gaps in the logs of some point to the disasters or captures of which they became the victims.

## CAPTAINS' LOG BOOKS

[ Preserved in the Public Record Office, London ]

NAME OF VESSEL	ARMAMENT	CAPTAIN	PERIOD COVERED BY LOG	INDEX No.
Asia.....	64 Guns.....	George Vandeput...	177- to 1783, April 3 .....	67
Phoenix.....	44 Guns.....	Capt. Hyde Parker Jr.	1764, Oct. 1, to 1776, July 7 ....	693
".....	" ".....	" " ".....	1776, July 8, to 1780, April 8....	694
Roebuck.....	32 Guns.....	A. S. Hamond.....	1775, July 14, to 1783, April 8 ..	796
			(No entries between 13 July, 1776, and 7 Jan., 1769)	
Rose.....	20 Guns.....	Sir Richard Wallace	1768, April 27, to 1776, Feb. 29..	804
".....	" ".....	" " ".....	1776, March 1, to 1785, June 8 ..	805
Tartar.....	Frigate.....	Edward Medows...	1763 to 1778, Nov. 23 .....	972
".....	" ".....	" " ".....	1779, July 27, to 1783, Oct. 25....	973
Thunderer.....	Bomb-ketch ..	.....	1764 to 1780, March 27.....	987
Thunder.....	Bomb-ketch ..	.....	1775 to 1780, May 18. ....	987
Vulture.....	Frigate.....	.....	1776, June 10, to 1783, Nov. 19...	1044
".....	" ".....	.....	1780, Nov. 8, to Dec. 22.....	4386
Pearl.....	30 Guns.....	Jas. O'Hara to 1775.	1764 to 1777, May 21.....	674
".....	" ".....	Thos. Wilkinson...	1777, June 14, to 1782, July 18...	675
			(Missing to 1786)	
Orpheus.....	.....	Chas. Hudson.....	1773 to 1784, March 31.....	650
".....	.....	" ".....	1775, July 25, to 1776, Aug. 31 }	4279
".....	.....	" ".....	1781, Jan. 1, to Dec. 31..... }	
".....	.....	" ".....	1784, April 1, to 1787, Feb. 26...	659



## MASTERS' LOG BOOKS

[Preserved in the Public Record Office, London]

NAME	ARMAMENT	CAPTAIN	PERIOD COVERED	INDEX No.
Asia.....	64 Guns.....	George Vandeput...	1771, April 23, to 1775, Mar. 9..	1580
".....	" ".....	" ".....	1775, Mar. 10, to 1777, Mar. 10..	1583
".....	" ".....	" ".....	1777, Mar. 14, to 1779, Apr. 24..	1582
".....	" ".....	" ".....	1779, Apr. 24, to 1781, Apr. 23..	1581
".....	" ".....	" ".....	1781, Apr. 24 to 1783, Apr. 3..	2149
Carcass.....	Bomb-ketch.....	.....	1775 to 1778, Sept. 14.....	1640
".....	" ".....	.....	1778 to 1781.....	1641
Carysfort.....	Frigate.....	Fanshaw.....	1775, Nov. 15, to 1778, Apr. 30..	1642
Charlotte.....	.....	.....	Missing from 1770 to 1797.....	.....
Charlotta.....	Tender.....	.....	None.....	.....
Dutchess of Gordon.....	Despatch Packet.....	.....	None.....	.....
Eagle.....	Flagship.....	.....	1776, Mar. 4, to 1779, Jan. 8..	1709
".....	".....	.....	1779, Jan. 8, to 1781, Jan. 7..	1710
".....	".....	.....	1781, Jan. 8, to 1782, April 16..	2296
Experiment.....	50 Guns.....	Alexander Scott.....	1775, July 11, to 1779, Mar. 18..	1725
".....	".....	(1778, Wallace)	(Missing to 1793)	.....
Greyhound.....	30 ".....	Archibald Dickson.....	1775, Nov. 5, to 1778, Dec. 2..	1768
".....	" ".....	" ".....	1778, Dec. 2, to 1780, Aug. 20..	1765
".....	" ".....	.....	(Missing on to 1794)	.....
La Brune.....	32 ".....	.....	Not in list.....	.....
Orpheus.....	.....	Charles Hudson.....	1775, Aug. 24, to 1781, Aug. ...	1893
Pearl.....	20 Guns.....	Thos. Wilkinson.....	1776, Sept. 14, to 1777, Nov. 16..	1392
Phoenix.....	44 ".....	Hyde Parker, Jr.....	1775, July 8, to 1778, July 23..	1909
Repulse.....	50 ".....	Davis.....	1780 to 1782.....	2494
Renown.....	50 ".....	Banks.....	1775, Aug. 4, to 1778, Mar. 18..	1953
".....	" ".....	.....	1780, Aug. 2, to 1783, Jan. 5..	2495
Roebuck.....	32 ".....	A. S. Hamond.....	1775 to 1777, July 14.....	1963
".....	" ".....	" " ".....	1777, July 15, to 1779, July 14..	1964
".....	" ".....	" " ".....	1779 to 1781, July 3.....	2504
".....	" ".....	" " ".....	1781 to 1783, April 9.....	2505
Rose.....	20 ".....	Sir Richard Wallace.....	1775, Nov. 1, to 1777, Oct. 31..	1970
Shuldham.....	Tender.....	.....	None.....	.....
Solebay.....	28 Guns.....	.....	1775, Aug. 16, to 1777, Aug. 27..	1999
".....	" ".....	.....	1777, Aug. 27, to 1780, Mar. 3..	1998
".....	" ".....	.....	(Missing to 1787)	.....
Tartar.....	Frigate.....	Edward Medows.....	1775, Dec. 13, to 1778, Sept. 22..	2029
".....	".....	" ".....	1778 to 1781, May 26.....	2030
".....	".....	" ".....	1781 to 1783, Oct. 25.....	2567
Thunder.....	Bomb-ketch.....	.....	1775 to 1780, June 2.....	2041
Thunderer.....	" ".....	.....	(Missing to 1778)	.....
".....	" ".....	.....	1778, Feb. 25, to 1780, June 20..	2042
".....	" ".....	.....	(Missing to 1794)	.....
Trial.....	Armed Schooner.....	Lt. John Brown.....	Up to 1772, Aug. 6.....	1483
".....	".....	" ".....	Begins 1790, Oct. 17.....	3551
Vulture.....	Frigate.....	.....	1776, June 19, to 1779, June 30..	2072
".....	".....	.....	1779, June 29, to 1782, July 29..	2073
".....	".....	.....	1782, July 30, to 1783, Nov. 19..	2592
".....	".....	.....	(Missing on to 1803)	.....

Of these it may be noted that the *Asia* was conspicuous around New York, particularly in the summer of 1776, when a shot from her caused the only bloodshed of which Governor's Island has been the scene, although it has been a military station since 1800. One of her cannon-balls took off an arm of an American soldier, in April, 1776.

Another of her shots penetrated the roof of Fraunces' Tavern, in Broad street, New York. It was preserved until a few years ago, when it mysteriously disappeared. Freneau, in his *Petition of Hugh Gainé* refers to the incident:

At first we supposed it was only a sham  
Till he drove a round ball through the roof of Black Sam.

The *Eagle* came very near furnishing the first proof in history of the efficiency of submarine boats or torpedoes. It is part of the history of the Revolution that Bushnell's "Turtle" only failed to blow her up, as she lay off Governor's Island in August, 1776, because of her bottom being coppered, and hence affording no chance of attachment of the "Turtle" by a huge screw, as the inventor had intended.

The *Duchess of Gordon* was Tryon's headquarters at the same time. The *Experiment*, *Thunder* and *Solebay* were conspicuous in the unsuccessful attack on Charleston in June, 1776, and the *Pearl*, *Phœnix*, *Rose*, *Roe-buck* and *Tartar* were particularly active near New York during the whole war.

The foregoing are by no means all of the vessels engaged in the war of the Revolution, of which I have gathered references to no less than one hundred and twenty-two, and there were doubtless many more engaged in those operations east and south of which I have been unable to make a close study.

These will, however, serve to indicate some of the material available, and perhaps afford some historical enquirers the means of adding to their information.

REGINALD PELHAM BOLTON.

NEW YORK CITY.

## THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, WITH  
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE ROYAL COLONY  
OF NEW YORK.

### CHAPTER IV (*Continued*)

#### THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN NEW YORK

THE administration of Governor George Clinton is very important on the side of Constitutional growth, since it is now that the General Assembly for the first time clearly enunciates the principles of self-government and the right not only to vote the taxes but to determine the ways in which the money shall be expended. In 1747 the colonies were engaged in war with France, and it was of the greatest importance that the outposts and fortified places on the Canadian border should be adequately garrisoned and amply supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Clinton was striving to assert the principle of royal prerogative in the matter of money-bills, a right which Governor Clarke had allowed to slip away from him. This attempt the General Assembly naturally resisted, and as a result is reproached by the Governor with neglecting to provide him with the money necessary to keep the province properly defended against the French. In the Minutes of the General Assembly of Oct. 8th, 1747, appears the following Message from the Governor,

*"Gentlemen,*

By your Votes I understand you are going upon Things very foreign to what I recommended you: I will receive nothing from you at this critical Juncture, but what relates to the Message I last sent you, viz. By all Means, immediately to take the preservation of your Frontiers, and the Fidelity of the Indians, into consideration: The Loss of a Day may have fatal Consequences; when that is over, you may have Time enough to go upon any other Matters.

G. CLINTON."

The next day the House took into consideration the Governor's

Message, and after a rather theatric locking of the door and laying the key on the table (as though, as Clinton says in his Message of Oct. 13th, some one were attempting to break in,) drew up a set of Resolutions to be delivered to the Governor, in which his Message was declared to be an attempt to subvert the rights, privileges, and immunities of the House. In addition a long document, called "A Humble Remonstrance of the House on the present State and Condition of the Colony," was ordered carried by a committee to the Governor. This document, which had taken a Committee several days to draw up, was a long and detailed statement of the Assembly's side of the quarrel and an attempt to show that the wretched state of the colony's affairs was due to the tactics of delay made use of by the Governor and not to any fault of the Assembly which was very willing to grant money provided it had some assurance that the sums voted would be expended for the purposes designated. This Remonstrance the Governor refused to receive, and by his Secretary directed James Parker, the official printer, not to print it in the proceedings of the Assembly; this direction was not heeded by Parker, a step which brought out from the Governor the following Order:

"By His Excellency the Honourable George Clinton, Captain General and Governor in Chief, of the Province of New York, etc.

To Mr. James Parker, Printer to the General Assembly of the Province of New York.

Whereas some Persons, calling themselves a Committee of the General Assembly of this Province, came into an Apartment of my House, on the 9th instant, while I was engaged in my private affairs; and without the least previous Notice, one of them offered to read a large bundle of Paper, which he said was a Remonstrance from that House, and desired my Leave to read the same, which I absolutely refused, or to have it left with me; and whereas the Speaker of the said General Assembly hath, in disregard to my Authority and Person, ordered the same to be printed by you in their Votes, although I forewarned you by my Secretary not to do it; but as you afterwards signified to him, that a Verbal Order was not sufficient to forbid you printing any Thing to that Purpose;

I do hereby in his Majesty's Name, expressly forbid you or any other person in this Province, to re-print or otherwise publish, the said Paper, called, a Remonstrance of the General Assembly of this Province,

as you and they shall answer the same at your and their Peril; the said Paper, containing many false, scandalous and malicious Aspersions on me, as Governor of this Province; and I do hereby, further require you to give publick Notice of this my Order, by publishing the same in your next News-Paper; and for your so doing, this shall be the warrant.

Given under my Hand, at the City of New York, October 24th, 1747.<sup>21</sup>

G. CLINTON."

This Order having duly appeared in Parker's New York Gazette and Post Boy, the Speaker on Oct. 26th reported it to the House and requested "that the House would vindicate his Conduct therein." Accordingly Parker was ordered to appear before the body. He came the next day and produced Clinton's order in justification of his action, and the Assembly then passed the following resolutions;<sup>22</sup>

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That it is the undoubted Right of the People of this Colony, to know the Proceedings of their Representatives in General Assembly, and that any Attempt to prevent their Proceedings being printed and published, is a Violation of the Rights and Liberties of the People of this Colony.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That any Attempt to prohibit the printing or re-printing of any of the Proceedings of this House, is an infringement of the Privileges of this House, and of the People they represent.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That the Humble Remonstrance of this House, of the 9th instant, though his Excellency, (contrary to the uninterrupted Usage in such Cases,) refused to receive it, was, notwithstanding, a regular Proceeding of this House.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That his Excellency's Order to forbid the printing or re-printing the said Remonstrance, is unwarrantable, arbitrary and illegal, and not only an open and manifest Violation of the Privileges of this House, but also of the Liberty of the Press, and evidently tends to the utter subversion of all the Rights and Liberties of this House, and of the People they represent.

<sup>21</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Oct. 27, 1747.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Oct. 27, 1747.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That Mr. Speaker's ordering the said Remonstrance to be printed with the Votes and Proceedings of this House, is regular, and entirely consistent with the Duty of his Office as Speaker of this House."

On Nov. 12th a further step was taken, when Col. Lewis Morris made the following Motion, which was carried;

"The late Order in Parker's Paper, ordering him as Printer of this House, not to publish or print the Proceedings of this House, is an Attempt to deprive the People of these Colonies of their Liberties; I therefore move, that we order him to reprint our Humble Remonstrance to his Excellency, and that he deliver ten Copies to each member of this House, that our Constituents may know, that it is our firm Resolution to preserve the Liberty of the Press, and to communicate our proceedings to them, that they may judge of our Conduct."

The Governor up to this time had said nothing on the subject, but in his Speech dissolving the Assembly on Nov. 25,<sup>23</sup> he breaks his silence and argues the matter at length. He begins by saying that their action has a very dangerous likeness to a desire to grasp the executive power, a result which would be destructive of their dependency on Great Britain, and of which the people of Great Britain might become jealous. He then goes on to show that their conduct is not only wanting in respect to their Sovereign, since the Governor is his representative, but even wanting in ordinary manliness and honesty, since they are striking at one who, (on account of his position,) cannot retaliate. The question as to whether the paper is not a false, scandalous and malicious libel he left to his superiors in England. He ends his statement of the matter, "As to the popular Out-cry you endeavor to raise, of the Liberty of the Press, I shall only say, that certainly this Liberty, as well as any other may be abused, to the injury of others; if an injury is done, a proper Remedy ought to be applied; and such a Remedy can never be thought a Restraint of any just Liberty. I am persuaded that no considerate man can think, that I offered any Obstruction to the Liberty of the Press, by forbidding the Printer to publish that one Paper at his Peril; if no Peril in doing it, neither the author nor Publishers of it can suffer by the Order; the proper Judges may in Time show, whether I did a Service or a Disservice to any, by such Warning."

<sup>23</sup> Minutes of General Assembly of that date.

The Twenty-fifth Assembly came together in the Spring of 1748 and the old quarrel was resumed. On reassembling for the second Session in September an Address was drawn up in which former complaints were reiterated, and which the Governor refused to receive.<sup>24</sup> The Address was then printed in the Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly, and on Nov. 12th the Governor, in proroguing the Assembly, took occasion to complain of their method of procedure.

"In whatever your Governor and you differ, there is a legal Method for Redress. In my Message to you, I told you that I would do the Justice, to send a Copy of that Paper, which you call an Address, to his Majesty's Ministers; which is sending it to the proper Tribunal for Redress, if I have done you any injury, by my refusing to receive it; but you seem to decline this legal Method; and by your publishing that Paper, under the name of an Address, in your Votes, and afterwards in a publick News Paper, published by the Printer of your Votes; you seem to place the dernier Resort in all Disputes between you and your Governor, in the Populace; how his Majesty may take this, or how a Parliament of Great Britain, may take your claiming, not only the Privileges of Parliament, but Privileges far beyond what any House of Commons ever claimed, deserves your most serious consideration."<sup>25</sup>

Governor George Clinton was succeeded by Sir Danvers Osborne in the summer of 1753, but the latter meeting with a violent death the government devolved on James Delancey, the Lieutenant-Governor. The latter in his speech at the coming together of the Assembly took occasion to quote certain paragraphs from the Instructions given to Sir Danvers Osborne. These would naturally be of interest to all in the colony, and Hugh Gaine, the printer of the New York Mercury, published the paragraphs in his next issue. This provoked comment and the Assembly at once took action.<sup>26</sup>

"The House being informed that one Hugh Gaine, a printer, in the City of New York, had presumed in his Paper, called, the New York Mercury, of Monday, November the 12th, 1753, No. 66, to print and publish Part of the Proceedings of this House, particularly several articles of his Majesty's Instructions to his Excellency, the late Sir Danvers Osborne, Baronet; and the said Paper being produced, and read,

<sup>24</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Oct. 19 and Oct. 21.

<sup>25</sup> Minutes, General Assembly of that date.

<sup>26</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Nov. 13, 1753.

"Ordered, That the said Hugh Gaine, attend this House To-morrow, at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Ordered, That the Serjeant at Arms, attending this House, serve the said Hugh Gaine, with a Copy of this Order forthwith."

Next day Hugh Gaine appeared at the Bar of the House; "being asked, whether he was the Printer of the Paper, called the New York Mercury, he acknowledged that he was; and then being asked, by what Authority he had therein printed and published an Extract of the Votes of this House; answered, that he had no Authority for doing it, and knew not that he did amiss in doing so; and that he was very sorry that he had offended the House, and humbly asked their Pardon."<sup>27</sup>

The result was that after the matter had been discussed in the House the printer was called in, reprimanded, and allowed to go, on paying the costs.

In 1756 James Parker, who had in 1747 braved the wrath of Governor Clinton in order to obey the Speaker of the House, himself fell into disgrace. Parker and Wm. Weyman were at this time joint owners of the New York Gazette, or the Weekly Post Boy, and on the 15th of March, published an article entitled "Observations on the Circumstances and Conduct of the People in the Counties of Ulster and Orange, in the Province of New York."

The Assembly at its meeting on the 16th took the matter up on the ground that it reflected on the conduct and composition of the House. The Serjeant at Arms was directed to bring the printers to the Bar. Parker was out of town, but Weyman appeared, and being asked how he had come to print it said that he done so merely as a piece of news, and went on to say that he believed it to have been written by the Rev. Hezekiah Watkins, a clergyman of Newburgh, Ulster County, and that he was heartily sorry for the mistake. The House then;<sup>28</sup>

"Resolved, That the Piece . . . . . contains sundry insolent, false, and malicious Expressions, calculated to misrepresent the conduct of the Representatives of the People of this Colony.

Resolved, That the Author of the said Piece has attempted by false and malicious Misrepresentations, to irritate the People of this

<sup>27</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Nov. 14, 1753.

<sup>28</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, March 19, 1756.



Colony against their Representatives in General Assembly, and is therefore guilty of a high Misdemeanor and a Contempt of the Authority of this House.

Resolved, That James Parker and Wm. Weyman, for having published the said Piece in their Weekly Paper, are guilty of a high Misdemeanor and a Contempt of the Authority of this House.

Resolved, That James Parker and Wm. Weyman, be for their said offense, taken into the Custody of the Sergeant at Arms attending this House."

Four days later Parker presented a petition setting forth that on receiving news of what had happened he had at once returned and surrendered himself; that the writer of the piece was Mr. Watkins, as he could easily prove; and the petition goes on to say "that when he received the said Piece, he thought it contained sundry indecent Expressions, and thereupon struck them out, but is sorry that he left sundry Matters, which though they seemed not to be malignant to him at the Time, appear now to be so; that he humbly confesses his fault in printing the said Piece; that he had no design to give Offense thereby, promised to be more circumspect for the future, and humbly begs the pardon of the honourable House: And therefore humbly praying (having long experienced the Kindness of the Honourable House) a Dismission from the Custody in which he now is."

A week later the House took the matter up, and a motion to that effect having been made by Capt. Richard, Parker and Weyman were discharged from custody.

The House having been prorogued shortly after this, it was not until it came together again that the matter of the Revd. Mr. Watkins received attention. On Oct. 15, 1756, a motion was made by Capt. Walton that Mr. Watkins be ordered to attend the House. Accordingly he appeared on the 22nd and admitted the fact of authorship said that he had had no intention of acting disrespectfully but that the condition of affairs in Ulster and Orange Counties had caused his zeal for the welfare of the people to carry him too far; and that he was heartily sorry. In spite of his explanation he was ordered into the custody of the Sergeant at Arms, and the Minutes of the next day (Oct. 23,) set forth his Petition in which he went over at greater length the explanation he had given orally the day before. After some discussion of the matter he

was ordered to be brought to the Bar of the House where he was reprimanded by the Speaker and then discharged.

Another case very similar to the last was that of Samuel Townsend, a Justice of the Peace of Queen's County. Some of the so-called "Neutral French" had been quartered upon Long Island, and Samuel Townsend wrote, in reference to their uncared for condition and misfortunes, a letter to the Speaker which the latter laid before the Assembly on Mar. 16, 1758, and Townsend was ordered to appear and explain the matter. Having examined him the House<sup>29</sup>

"Resolved, That the letter . . . . . contains sundry indecent and insolent Expressions, reflecting on the Honour, Justice and Authority of this House.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That the said Samuel Townsend, for writing and sending the said Letter, is guilty of a high Misdemeanor and a most daring Insult, on the Honour, Justice, and Authority of this House.

Ordered, That the said Samuel Townsend remain in the Custody of the Sergeant at Arms attending this House."

Next day a long petition was presented in which Townsend begged "leave, humbly to express his Uneasiness and Sorrow, for having wrote the said Letter; and at the same time, to declare that he did not intend thereby to cast any Reflection upon the Conduct or Dignity of this House, and that he shall for the future be more cautious to avoid every occasion of exposing himself to their Censure or Reproof.

Your Petitioner therefore most humbly Prays, that the sincere Acknowledgement of his Sorrow and Uneasiness may prevail upon this honourable House, to treat him with all that Levity and Compassion, to which the Innocence of his Intention herein declared, and the real Regard he has for the Honour of this House, may entitle him, and discharge him from the Custody of the Sergeant at Arms."

After this had been read Townsend was ordered to the Bar, and; having been reprimanded by the Speaker, was discharged.

The growing dissatisfaction with the home government was fanned into open opposition when the news arrived in the colonies that the

<sup>29</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Mar. 23, 1758.

Ministry, not content with the restrictions which it had placed upon the growing trade of the Atlantic coast towns, had decided to introduce direct taxation by a duty on stamped paper. The popular press in New York was filled with articles against the Stamp Act, but these articles were far exceeded in number and influence by handbills which were posted throughout the town, and read and discussed by all the inhabitants. The Assembly passed all this over, in silence, tacitly permitting what but a short time before would have brought any one suspected of complicity in the writing or printing of the same to its Bar.

But a peculiarly offensive piece of writing finally was taken notice of. It was about a month after the riot of Nov. 1st, 1765, (when the Stamp Act was due to go into effect,) on which occasion some damage had been done to the fort and batteries, that,<sup>80</sup> "Mr. Lott, Clerk to this House, presented on the 26th instant, a sealed Letter to the House, directed in the words following, viz. 'To the General Assembly of the Province of New York.' Which Letter was delivered to him, the said Lott, by his Clerk who had received it from a Person unknown; and was enclosed in another Letter directed, 'To Mr. Lott, Mercht. in New York,' and the same being read, was in the words following: 'on Receiving you are to read the in Closed in the open assembly of this Province New York as you are Clark and whare of fail not on your perrel.

(Signed) FREEDOM.'

And then the Letter addressed to the General Assembly being opened and also read, was in the Words following: 'Gentlemen of the House of Representatives you are to consider what is to be Done first Drawing of as much money from the Lieut. Governors Sallery as will Repare the fort and on Spike the Guns on the Battery and the next a Repeal of the Gunning Act and then thare will be a good Militia but not before and also as you are asetting you may Consider of the Building Act as it is to take place nex yeare wich it Cannot for thare is no Supply of Some Sort of meterials Require'd this Law is not Ground on Reasons but thare is a Grate many Reasons to the Contrary do Gentlemen we desire you will Do what Lays in your power for the Good of the public but if you take this ill be not so Conceited as to Say or think that other People know noting about Government you have made these Laws and say they are Right but they are Rong and take a way Liberty,

<sup>80</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Nov. 29th, 1765.

Oppressions of your make Gentlemen make us Sons of Liberty think you are not for the Public Liberty, this is the General Opinion for this part of Your Conduct.

by order

Signd. one and all

FREEDOM'

1765 Nov. 26.

"The House then proceeded to the Consideration of the said Letters, and having fully weighed and Examined the same;

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente,

That, said Letters are Libellous, Scandalous and Seditious, containing many indecent and insolent Expressions, highly reflecting on the Honour, Justice and Authority of, and an High Insult and Indignity to this House; and are designed and calculated to inflame the Minds of the good People of this Colony, against their Representatives in General Assembly.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente,

That the Author or Authors of the said Letters is, or are, guilty of an High Misdemeanor and a most daring Insult on the Honour, Justice, and Authority of this House."

They then resolved to present an Address to the Governor calling on him to offer a reward of £50 for the discovery of the Author or Authors, and say that the House will provide means to meet the expense.

Writing under date of Sept. 23, 1765 to Secretary Conway in England, Lieutenant Governor Colden remarks on this general subject:<sup>81</sup>

"Soon after it was known that Stamp Duties were by Act of Parliament to be paid in the Colonies, virulent papers were published in the Weekly Newspapers, filled with every falsehood that malice could invent to serve their purpose of exciting the people to disobedience of the Laws and to Sedition. At first they only denied the authority of Parliament to lay internal taxes in the Colonies but at last they have denied the Legislative Authority of the Parliament in the Colonies, and these papers continue to be published.

I agreed with the Gentlemen of the Council that considering the

<sup>81</sup> Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., VII, 759.

present temper of the people this is not a proper time to prosecute the printers and Publishers of the Seditious Papers. The Attorney General likewise told me that he does not think himself safe to commence any such Prosecution."

And in another letter to Secretary Conway under date of Oct. 12, 1765,<sup>82</sup> he again refers to the matter.

" Since the last which I had the honour to write to you of the 23d of September, this town has remained quiet the inflammatory Papers continue to be published, exciting the People to oppose the execution of the Act of Parliament for laying a Stamp Duty in the Colonies. The most remarkable of these Papers is enclosed. This was distributed along the Post Roads by the Post Riders. I examined the Post Master in this place to know how this came to be done. He assured me that it was without his knowledge; that he had examined the Post Riders and found that one or more Bundles of them were delivered at Woodbridge, New Jersey, to the Post Rider, by James Parker Secretary to the General Post Office in N. America. Parker was formerly a printer in this place and has now a printing Press and continues to print occasionally. It is believed that this Paper was printed by him. The Gentlemen of the Council think it prudent at this time to delay making more particular inquiry least it should be the occasion of raising the Mob which it is thought proper by all means to avoid."

<sup>82</sup> Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., VII, 767.

*(To be continued.)*



## EARLY DAYS IN LUZERNE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA (1805—1845)

[Excerpts from an address by the late W. P. Ryman, Esq., of Wilkes-Barré, Pa., before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.]

### THE EARLIEST SETTLERS AND THEIR IMPROVEMENTS

**T**HE difficulties of settling Dallas township were very great. It was comparatively an easy thing to cut a path or road along the banks of Toby's Creek and find a way even to its source, but to settle there alone, many miles from any clearing, and meet the wolves, bears and other wild animals, which were terrible realities in those early days, saying nothing of the still pending dread of the prowling Indian, was a very serious undertaking.

When a small boy I heard Mr. Charles Harris, then an old man, tell some of his early recollections, which ran back to about the time of the battle and massacre of Wyoming. He told us of the Indians who once came into the house where he and his mother were alone and demanded food. There being nothing better they roasted a pumpkin before the fire and scraped it off and ate it as fast as it became soft with cooking. He also told us about his father's first settling on the westerly side of Kingston Mountain at what is still known as the "Harris Settlement" about two miles north of Trucksville. He said that his father worked all the first day felling trees and building a cabin. Night came on before the cabin could be inclosed. With the darkness came a pack of wolves, and, to protect his family, Mr. Harris built a fire and sat up all night to keep it burning. The wolves were dazed and would not come near a fire, and when daylight came they disappeared. To pass one night under such circumstances required bravery, but to stay, build a house, clear a farm and raise a family with such terrors constantly menacing exhibited a courage that commands our highest esteem.

Among those who came in the first decade were Joseph Worthington and wife—the latter a daughter of Jonathan Buckley. They came from Connecticut in the year 1806 and settled near Harvey's Lake. His first

house was built of logs, and stood on the hill about a quarter of a mile from the eastern inlet to Harvey's Lake. When he first moved into that country there was no road from Huntsville to Harvey's Lake except a bridle path. Mr. Worthington cut a way through and built a house when his nearest neighbor was miles away and no clearings in sight anywhere. Wolves were then very numerous and bold at night, and the only way Mr. Worthington could protect his family from their assaults was for all to climb the ladder to the second floor and pull the ladder up after them. Mr. Worthington used to say that his life during those early days was most lonely and disheartening.

#### THE VILLAGE STORE

The best of the first stores in Dallas would hardly be dignified by that name now. Only a few necessities were kept in any of them, and "necessaries" then had a much scantier meaning than now. A few of the commonest and cheapest cotton cloths were kept in stock; the woollen goods used for winter wear, for both men and women, were all homespun. It took many years for the storekeepers to convince the farmers that they could buy heavy clothes of part wool and part cotton that would be as durable and cheaper than the all wool homespun. The time spent on the latter was counted as nothing, and the argument failed. A few other goods of kinds in daily use, such as coffee, tea, sugar, molasses, tobacco, powder, shot and flints and rum were of course necessary to any complete store. Hunting materials and supplies were in great demand. A hunter's outfit at that time was proverbially "a quarter pound of powder, a pound of shot, a pint of rum and a flint." The flint was the box of matches of that day. Before the invention of the lucifer match, the matter of keeping fire in a house, especially in winter time, was one of extreme importance in that sparsely settled country. Everyone burned wood then, about there, and fire was kept over night by covering a few "live coals" with ashes in the fireplace. Sometimes this failed, and then, if no flint and punk were at hand, some member of the family had to go to the nearest neighbor, probably a mile or more away, and bring fire. It is not difficult to imagine their sufferings during the winters in this respect. Had food, clothing and other things been plenty and good, this hardship could have been better endured; but they were not, and worst of all, there were almost no means of procuring them. There was an abundance of game and fish for a time, but they did not satisfy a civilized people.

## EARLY AGRICULTURE

The only plow in use then was the old-fashioned shovel plow. The only iron about it was the blade, which was about the shape of an ordinary round-pointed shovel. This was fastened to the lower end of an upright post. To the post were attached handles to hold it with, and a beam or tongue to which the team could be hitched. This plow was jabbed into the ground here and there between roots, stumps and stones, and with it a little dirt could be torn up now and then. There was no patent plow in use then, nor could it be used there for many years after we settled in Dallas. Nor could we use a cradle for cutting grain. At that time the ground was so rough, and there were so many stumps and roots and stones, that we had to harvest at first with a sickle.

## CROPS AND PIGEONS

Buckwheat was early introduced in Dallas, and was afterwards so extensively raised there that the expression "Buckwheat-Dallas" was frequently used by the way of marking this fact in connection with the name. It is a summer grain and quick to mature. In ninety days from the day when the crop is sowed it can be grown, matured, gathered, ground and served on the table as food, or, as has been often remarked, just in time to meet a three months' note in bank. Another practical benefit from raising this grain was that, in gathering it, a large quantity of it shook off and was scattered over the fields. This afforded a most attractive pigeon food, and during the fall and spring seasons, and often during much of the winter, pigeons would flock in countless numbers all over that country. They came in such quantities that it would be difficult to exaggerate their numbers. When a boy I used to see flocks that extended as far as the eye could reach, from end to end, and these long strings or waves of birds would pass over so closely following each other that sometimes two or three flocks could be seen at once, and some days they were almost constantly flying over, and the noise of their wings was not unlike the sound of a high wind blowing through a pine wood. They cast a shadow as they passed over almost like a heavy cloud. Often they flew so low as to be easily reached with an ordinary shotgun. The skilled way of capturing them in large numbers, however, was with a net. William or Daddy Emmons was a famous pigeon trapper as well as fisherman. He used decoy pigeons. They were blind pigeons tied to the ground at some desired spot, and when they heard the noise of large



flocks flying overhead, they would flap their wings as if to fly away. Attracted by this the flock would come down and settle near the decoys, where plenty of buckwheat was always to be found. When a sufficient number had settled and collected on the right spot, Mr. Emmons, who was concealed in a bush or bough house near by, would spring his net over them quickly and fasten them within. After properly securing the net, the work of killing them began. It was done in an instant by crushing their heads between the thumb and fingers. Hundreds were often caught and killed in this way at one spring of the net. Pigeons were so plenty that some hunters cut off and saved the breast only, and threw the rest away.

#### THE OLD LOG CHURCH

Of all the occasions in the church, none ever approached such intensity of feeling and excitement as the "revival" or "protracted meeting" season.

These meetings usually began late in the fall, about the time or just after the farmers had finished their fall work. The first symptom usually appeared in the slightly extra fervor which the minister put in his sermons and prayers on Sunday. Then a special prayer meeting would be set for some evening during the week. Other special meetings soon followed, so that, if all things were favorable, the revival or "protracted meeting" would be at a white heat within two or three weeks. In the meantime the fact would become known far and near, and the "protracted meeting" would be the leading event of the neighborhood. If the sleighing became good, parties would be formed miles away to go sleigh riding with this "protracted meeting" as their objective visiting point, often from idle curiosity or for want of something more instructive or entertaining to do. Others went equally far, through storm and mud, in wagons or on foot, from a higher sense of personal responsibility and duty. With many it was a most grave and serious business. The house was usually packed to repletion. Professional ambulatory revivalists, often from remoter parts of the state or county, would stop there on their religious crusades through the land, to attend and help at these meetings. Many of these were specially gifted in the kind of praying and speaking that was usually most successful at such times. It is not overdrawing to say that many times on a still night the noise of those meetings was heard a mile away from the church. In one occasion I saw a leading exhorter at one of

those meetings enter the pulpit, take off his coat, hurl it into a corner, and standing in his shirt sleeves begin a wild and excited harangue. After possibly half an hour of most violent imprecations and raving he came down from the pulpit, jumped up on top of the rail which extended down the center of the room and divided the seats on the two sides of the house, and from there finished, and exhausted himself, begging and pleading with sinners to come forward and be converted, and invoking "hell fire" and all the torments supposed to accompany this kind of caloric, upon those who dared to smile or exhibit a sentiment or action not in accord with his.

The principal argument at those meetings was something to excite fear through most terrible picturings of hell, and the length of an eternal damnation and death. Scores would be converted, and many would backslide before the probationary season had ended. Some were annually re-converted, and as often returned again to their natural state. Many remained true to the new life, and became useful and prominent members of the church and community. It cannot be successfully denied that many were reached and reformed at those meetings whose consciences never could have been touched by any milder form of preaching. They had to be gathered in a whirlwind or not at all.

#### THE SECOND ADVENT

This chapter cannot well be closed without some reference to "Millerism" and the preaching of Millerite doctrines in the winter of 1842-43. It is doubtful if any other religious movement of modern times, and certainly few in all historic time, have ever, in so short a period, awakened so vast a religious excitement and terror as the announcement and promulgation of these doctrines. Ten years before Rev. William Miller, of Pittsfield, Mass., began preaching upon the subject of the second coming of Christ, and claimed to have discovered some key to the prophecies by which the near approach of the end of the world and of the judgment day was clearly shown. His earnest manner and elaborate arguments, apparently fortified with abundant historic proof, had attracted great attention and started many followers to adopt and preach the doctrines, so that, at the period named, the excitement attending it throughout Christendom was at its highest point. The time for this holocaust had been definitely fixed by these modern interpreters. The year was 1843 and February was the month when all things were to

collapse and end. Even the day was fixed by some. On that, however, all did not agree. Some fixed the 14th and others the 16th of February, and others still other days in that month for the happening of this terrible event. When we recall that the doctrine found millions of believers in the most civilized centers of the world, and for a time seriously paralyzed business in London, New York and Philadelphia, we will not wonder that with the people then living in the dreary solitudes of Dallas, such a doctrine found ready listeners and willing believers almost everywhere. The old log schoolhouse was not large enough to hold the meetings, and others were started in different places. A very large one was conducted at the "Goss" or "Corner" schoolhouse. The time was getting short, and with the nearing of the fatal day excitement increased. Half the people of the community were in some degree insane. Many people refused to do any business, but devoted themselves entirely to religious work and meditation. These meetings were started early in the fall, and were kept up continuously through the winter. The plan and intention of the leaders was to convert everyone in Dallas township, and with a few exceptions the plan succeeded. Of course there were different degrees of faith. Some were so sure of the dissolution of all things on the appointed day that they refused to make any provisions for a longer existence. One man, Christian Snyder, refused to sell corn or grain, but was willing to give it away to the needy, and only desired to keep enough for the needs of himself and family until the fixed final day. Many of the people spent that dreadful winter reading the Bible, praying and pondering over that horrible interpretation. The memorable meteoric shower which extended almost over the whole world on the night of the 12th and 13th of November, 1833, was still fresh in the memory of almost every adult, and was well calculated to prepare the mind to believe the proofs and prophecies of such a catastrophe. That never-to-be-forgotten rain of fire must have been frightfully impressive even to the most scientific man who could best understand the causes which produced it. It has no parallel in recorded history, and one can quite readily understand how such an interpretation of the holy prophecies, following immediately such a fiery manifestation in the heavens, should find easy believers.

Converts were frequently baptized that winter by immersion through holes cut in the ice, and in one instance, I am credibly informed, when a parent only succeeded in converting a doubting daughter on the night before the supposed fatal day, he took her himself on that bitter cold night to the nearest mill-pond, cut a hole in the ice and baptized her

by immersion. The man was personally well known to me, and to the day of his death, which occurred only within the last decade, he remained firm in his faith in similar interpretations of the prophecies, and continued calculating and fixing new dates in the future for the coming of the end of all things. He was never disconcerted by any failures, but seriously accounted for it by saying that he had made a little error in his calculation, and gave you a new and corrected date further on. This man was Christopher Snyder.

An anecdote is told of Harris in connection with the meteoric shower above referred to, illustrating the common belief that the stars had actually fallen from the heavens. On the evening following the shower, Mr. Harris said he could see a great diminution of the number of stars in the heavens, and ventured the belief that a few more showers like the one of the evening before would use up the rest of them. So common was this belief that the stars had actually fallen, so great and memorable was the event, that to this day, among the older men about Dallas, you will occasionally hear men trying to fix the date or year of some long past occurrence, and not infrequently one will say something like this: "Well, I know it happened then because the stars fell in thirty-three, and this happened just so many years after" (or before, just as the case may be) — "now figure it up yourself."

#### SOCIAL THINGS

Of "apple cuts" I can speak in lighter vein. They were generally occasions of great merriment.

It has been truly said that a country is poor indeed when it is so poor that dried apples become a luxury. Before the days of cheap sugar and canned fruits, dried apples and cider apple sauce, the latter made of apples boiled to a pulp in cider, were luxuries and necessities both in many places besides ours. Apples were always abundant and cheap in Dallas. In fact, when the forests are cleared away, apple trees are found to spring up spontaneously in some places, and only need a little trimming and protection to become good orchards. This fact was accounted for to the writer by the owner of one such orchard as follows: He said a good many people had marveled at the natural growth of his orchard, and had asked him how he could account for it. "Of course you know," said he, "that it has always been my habit to give such things a good deal of thought. I could never be satisfied, like most folks, to just sit down

and take things as they come without trying to understand them, and I always keep at them until I cipher them out. Now, you see it's just like this about these apple trees: Some day or 'nuther, probably millions of years ago, this hull country was overflowed by the ocean. That's plain enough to any man who takes the trouble to think about these things. Well, right about over here somewhere there has been a shipwreck some day, and a ship load of apples has sunk right here, and these apple trees have sprung from the seeds. You know a seed will keep a great while and then grow."

The work of paring the apples and removing the cores for an ordinary family's winter supply of dried apples and apple butter, before the days of machines for that purpose, was a task of no little magnitude. All had to be done by hand and as sometimes happened, many bushels had to be so treated. It was a task that would have occupied the working portion of an ordinary family several days, and thus much of the fruit would, from long keeping, have lost its value for cider appliance by becoming stale and partly dried. For this reason there seemed almost a necessity for calling in help sufficient to do the required amount of work in a very short period of time. The apple cut solved this difficulty successfully. When a family had once determined on having an apple cut, it was given out to the nearest neighbors, and from them it spread of its own accord for miles around. Those who heard of it could go if they chose to. No special invitations were required. The apple cut was an evening festivity, and was most "prevalent" just after buckwheat thrashing, when the nights were cool and the roads not very muddy. I am told that in later years it began to be considered "bad form" to go to an apple cut without special invitation; but apple cuts were degenerating then, and they died soon after when the apple parer in its present improved form was introduced.

The old-fashioned apple cut was a very informal affair. Each guest upon arrival was expected to take a plate and knife, select a seat and some apples, and begin work without disturbing anyone else. The "cut" usually lasted for an hour or two. Twenty or thirty people could, and did usually, accomplish a good deal in that time in the way of work as well as say and do a great many of the commonplace things that country people ordinarily indulge in when thus congenially thrown together.

After the work was finished and the *débris* cleared away, a surreptitious fiddle was sometimes pulled from an old grain bag and started up.

"Fisher's Hornpipe," "Money Musk" and "The Arkansaw Traveler" composed the stock of the average fiddler thereabouts in those days, and any of them was enough to set all heels, with the slightest proclivities in that way, to kicking in the French Four, Virginia Reel or Cotillion. At some houses dancing was looked upon as improper, and in its stead some simple games were played. The festivities usually broke off early, as all had long distances to go. Dissipation in the matter of late hours could not be indulged in very much, because of the very general country habit of early rising.

The gentlemen did not often forget or fail to be gallant in the matter of escorting the ladies home. Usually the demands of etiquette were satisfied with the gentleman "going only as far as the chips," as it was commonly expressed, meaning, of course, the place where the wood was hauled in front of the house and chopped up for firewood.

"Going as far as the chips" was an expression as common and as generally understood in that day as going to the front gate would be now. The front gate then was generally a few improvised steps to assist in climbing over the rail fence at some point near the "chips" or wood pile.

"Spinning Bees" and "Quilting Bees" were exclusively feminine industries. With each invitation to a "spinning bee" was sent a bunch of tow sufficient for two or three days' spinning, which the recipient was expected to convert into thread or yarn by or before the date fixed for the party. The acceptance of the tow was equivalent to a formal acceptance of the invitation. On the appointed day each lady took her bunch of spun tow and proceeded early in the afternoon to the house of the hostess. The afternoon was usually spent in the usually easy and unconventional manner that might be expected when a dozen or fifteen able-bodied women of the neighborhood, who had not seen each other lately, are assembled. This was, of course, long before the newspaper or magazine had reached their present perfection, and before the daily paper "brought the universe to our breakfast table."

The surest way for a lady to avoid being the subject of comment was to be at the meeting. The gentlemen always came in time for tea and to see the ladies home.

"Quilting Bees" define themselves in their name. They were very similar to spinning bees, except that the work was done after the guests had assembled.

Of "Stoning Bees," "Logging Bees" and "Raising Bees," description is unnecessary. The names are almost self-explaining, though just why they were called "Bees" I cannot learn, unless it is because those who came were expected to, and usually did, imitate the industrial virtues of that insect. They were also sometimes called "frolics," possibly for the reason that the frolicking was often as hard and as general as the work. Strong and hearty men were much inclined to playful trials of strength and other frivolities when they met at such times. This tendency was much enhanced in the earlier days by the customary presence of intoxicants.

These amusements were varied and extended far beyond those above mentioned. They exhibited and illustrate much of the character, surroundings and habits of those early people. They wanted no better amusement. It was, in their esteem, a wicked waste of time and in conflict with their necessary economies to have parties or gatherings of any kind exclusively for amusement, and unaccompanied with some economic or industrial purpose like those indicated above.

The dancing party or ball was a thing of later date, but even when it came, and for many years after, it was looked upon by the more serious people as not only wicked and degrading in a religious and moral point of view, but very wasteful in an economic sense.

Their hard sense taught them that their industrious-social gatherings, together with the church meetings and Sunday-schools, furnished ample occasions for the young to meet and become acquainted, while the elements of evil that crept into modern society elsewhere were there reduced to a minimum.

#### A THRIFTY STOREKEEPER

A good story is told of Joseph Hoover dating well back in the first half of the century. He went one day to the store of Mr. Jacob R——, in a neighboring town, to get a gallon of molasses, taking with him the jug usually used for that purpose. As it happened that day, the son, Isaac, who usually waited on him, was otherwise engaged, and the father, Jacob, went down cellar to draw the molasses. After being gone some time, Jacob called up from the cellar to Joseph and said that the jug did not hold a gallon. "Call Isaac," replied Hoover, "and let him try; he has always been able to get a gallon in that jug!"

## THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

### A PAGE OF HISTORY CORRECTED

#### III

##### HALLECK AND POPE

THE fourth letter<sup>67</sup> contains a sentence which almost takes one's breath. It is bunglingly constructed—a thing unusual in Pope's communications. He had received a letter from Halleck, dated November 7, intimating that the Secretary of War would order a court of inquiry, and he answers, conveying the following:

"The overt act at Alexandria, during the engagement near Centreville, can be fully substantiated by letters from many officers since I have been here [St. Paul], it is quite certain [Now mark!] *that my defeat was predetermined*, [Now mark again!] and I think you must now be conscious of it."

Pope does not even intimate who predetermined that "overt act," although he intimates rather clearly that Halleck is conscious of the facts. It is difficult to see, however, how either McClellan, Porter or Griffin could "predetermine" either a victory or a defeat at that time.

On the 25th day of November, 1862, the very day set by General Pope, Major-General Halleck ordered a general court-martial for the trial of Major-General Fitz-John Porter, and on that same day he made his official report of the battle in which he certified to Pope's efficiency, as the latter had demanded in those uncanny letters. And on the 5th day of December, Major-General Pope declared under oath:

"This is all I have yet done": *i. e.*, "in my official reports of the operations of the army, to set forth all the facts as they transpired on the field. I have not preferred charges against him. I have merely set forth facts in my official reports," etc.

The "Official Records" referred to show that he "set forth" certain

<sup>67</sup> November 20, pp. 825-6.



facts [or fancies] in his private letters to Halleck, which, by some mysterious influence have found their way into print, and suggest that an explanation is in order to reconcile his sworn testimony with the fact that he was urging General Halleck to action, by military court, and even threatening him in case he should neglect such action.

He says: "No man knows better than yourself the constancy, the energy, and the zeal with which I endeavored to carry out your programme in Virginia. Your own letters and dispatches, from beginning to end, are sufficient evidence of this fact, and also of the fact that I not only committed no mistake, but that every act and movement met with your heartiest concurrence."

[*Note.*—This statement is fully corroborated by the "Official Records." It is as certain as anything can be that Halleck formulated the plan and that Pope executed it. If he appeared to be making mistakes, he was obeying orders, and Halleck should be chargeable.]

Pope continues: "Your own declarations to me up to the last hour I remained in Washington bore testimony that I had shown every quality to command success." . . .

Having, at your own urgent request [Mark that well! and what follows also. This paragraph shows that Halleck himself was the instigator of the charges against Porter], and from a sense of duty [!] laid before the Government, the conduct of McClellan, Porter and Griffin, and substantiated the facts stated by their own written documents, I am not disposed to push the matter further, unless the silence of the Government [this means Halleck, as has been shown Halleck was the only objector to the gratification of Pope's wishes], in the midst of the unscrupulous slander and misrepresentation purposely put in circulation against me and the restoration of these officers, without trial, to their commands, coupled with my banishment to a distant and unimportant department, render it necessary as an act of justice to myself."

How keenly Pope feels his disgrace, having been used as a tool and then flung aside, is shown clearly. He continues:

"As I have already said, I challenge and seek examination of my campaign in Virginia in all its details, and unless the Government by some high mark of public confidence, such as they have given to me in private, relieves me from the atrocious injury done to my character as a soldier

. . . justice to myself and to all connected with me demands that I should urge the court of inquiry. . . . This investigation, under the circumstances above stated, I shall assuredly urge in every way. If it cannot be accomplished by military courts, it will undoubtedly be the subject of the inquiry in Congress."

Then follows a darkly ominous hint: "It is especially hard, in view of my relations with you [Note that!] that I should be compelled even to ask at your hands the justice which it is your duty to assure to every officer of the army. . . . I tell you frankly that by the time Congress meets such influences as can not be resisted will be brought to bear on this subject. . . . I prefer greatly that you should do me this justice of your own accord." <sup>68</sup>

Altogether this letter is a rare specimen of the chiaroscuro in the art epistolary; it tells of Halleck's acts of injustice which Pope will right by every means in his power. At times it breathes hatred and vengeance, and closes with such a loving assurance as this:

"I write you this letter with mixed feelings. Personal friendship and interest in your welfare, I think, predominate. I am not so blinded as not to know that it gave you pain to allow such scandal against me and to take such action as you thought the peculiar circumstances required. Much as I differ with you on the subject, I am not ready to blame you or to feel bitterly."

Then follows that warning: "I impress upon you the necessity for your own sake of considering carefully the suggestions I have presented," and closes with the assurance, "I shall not again address you a letter on such a subject."

This assurance was not fulfilled. Indeed, Pope wrote several letters on the subject, as will appear. Queer letters were they, to be written by a major-general commanding a department, to his superior, the general-in-chief, to whom he administers the medicine *à la cheval de trait*.

To summarize: Pope makes these charges against Halleck.

- (1) That the plan of campaign was Halleck's.<sup>69</sup>
- (2) That Pope was but an instrument in the hands of the general-in-chief.<sup>70</sup>

(3) That Pope faithfully executed Halleck's plans.<sup>71</sup>

(4) That the latter fully approved every act of the former, thereby making himself responsible, so far as Pope was concerned, for the final result.<sup>72</sup>

Here a pause. These charges are fully substantiated by letters and telegrams passing between Halleck and Pope, which appear in parts II and III, of Vol. XII, of the Official Records. Pope was regularly advising Halleck of his movements, and Halleck was as regularly approving the same. And as late as August 26, 11:45 A. M., Halleck wired Pope: "Not the slightest dissatisfaction has been felt in regard to your operations on the Rappahannock," etc.

Returning to the charges:

(5) That Pope had made the charges against Generals McClellan, Porter and Griffin "at Halleck's own urgent request."<sup>73</sup> Halleck was the real instigator.

(6) That Halleck had not assigned him [Pope] to command of the western department, which, as Pope says, "would at once have freed me [Pope] from the odium and abuse which have so shamefully and unjustly been heaped upon me by the papers and people," etc.<sup>74</sup>

(7) That he found himself banished to the frontier.<sup>75</sup>

(8) That his character and reputation as a soldier had been deeply and irretrievably injured.<sup>76</sup>

(9) That the Government refused to allow him to publish the facts<sup>77</sup> and

(10) That General-in-Chief Halleck declined to acknowledge his services publicly.

All through the letters are insinuations and charges against McClellan, Porter and Griffin. And he makes categorical demand in these words:

"I said, and say now, that one of three things I was entitled to; any one of them would have satisfied me. The dictates of the commonest justice gave me the right to expect one of them at least:

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> P. 817.

<sup>74</sup> P. 818.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> P. 921.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

1st. That the court of inquiry be at once held and the blame be fixed where it belongs. It is now too late for that, as the delay has already made the worst impression against me that is possible.

2d. That the Government should acknowledge publicly, as it had done privately, my services in Virginia, or

3d. That in case neither of these things could be done, then that the Government bestow upon me some mark of public confidence, as its opinion of my ability warranted.

None of these things have been done," etc.

He continues: "You know me well enough I think, to understand that I will never submit if I can help it. The court of inquiry, which you inform me has been ordered, will amount to nothing for several reasons. It is too late, so far as I am concerned. Its proceedings, I presume, will be secret, as in Harper's Ferry business. The principal witnesses are here with me, and I myself should be present. The Mississippi River closes by the 25th of November [Note that date!]; frequently sooner than that. It is then next to impossible to get away from this place. A journey through the snow of 200 miles is required to communicate with any railroad."<sup>78</sup>

And on the very day which Pope had named, November 25, 1862, General-in-Chief Halleck issued his order for the court-martial of Fitz-John Porter, and issued his report certifying to the efficiency of General Pope, thus avoiding the court of inquiry which Pope had threatened to demand.

Such a court, if honestly conducted, would have laid bare the truth, and shown to the world that Halleck himself had prevented the reinforcements from reaching Pope, caused the defeat of Second Bull Run, imperiled the national capital, and opened the door of Maryland to Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee.

This conclusion is supported both by Halleck's official report and by his testimony before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. In the former, he says: "Had the Army of the Potomac arrived a few days earlier, the rebel army could have been easily defeated and, perhaps, destroyed." His testimony before that committee, on March 11, 1863.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> P. 822

<sup>79</sup> Vol. II, Part I, p. 454

“ Question. To what do you attribute the disastrous result of General Pope’s campaign,

Answer. I think our troops were not sufficiently concentrated so as to be all brought into action on the field of battle; and there was great delay in getting reinforcements from the Army of the Potomac to General Pope’s assistance.

Question. To what is that delay attributable?

Answer. Partly, I think, to accidents, and partly to a want of energy in the troops, or their officers, in getting forward to General Pope’s assistance. I could not say that that was due to any particular individual. It may have resulted from the officers generally not feeling the absolute necessity of great haste in re-enforcing General Pope. The troops, after they started from the Peninsula, were considerably delayed by heavy storms that came on at that time.”

[*Note.*—General Halleck has not told that committee, what his own letters and telegrams conclusively prove, that the principal delay of those reinforcements was due to his own wilfully false telegrams to Generals McClellan, Burnside, and Porter, and that he also prevented General Franklin and the Sixth Army Corps from reaching Pope from Alexandria by refusing to provide transportation. The next question and answer fixes the blame directly upon Halleck himself]:

“ Question. Had the Army of the Peninsula [*i. e.*, the army under McClellan, which embraced both Porter’s and Franklin’s corps] been brought to co-operate with the Army of Virginia [under the command of Pope] with the utmost energy that circumstances would have permitted, in your judgment as a military man, would it not have resulted in our victory instead of our defeat?

Answer. I thought so at the time, and still think so.”

And this is the opinion of all military critics who have pronounced judgment in the case. It is also certainly true that Halleck’s own orders and telegrams prove that he himself, and apparently purposely, prevented such co-operation, and it throws a peculiar significance on Pope’s charge in his letter to Halleck, dated November 20, 1862, before quoted, “*It is quite certain that my defeat was predetermined, and I think you must now be conscious of it.*”<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> O. R., Vol. XII, Part III, p. 825

The consequences which followed the defeat of Pope were not immediately and fully appreciated at the time in the North, on account of the censorship of the press, nor do they seem to be so at this day. Orders were given to prepare for the evacuation of Washington; vessels were ordered to the arsenal to receive the munitions of war for shipment northward; one warship was anchored in the Potomac, ready to receive the President, the Cabinet and the more important archives of the Government; Secretary Stanton advised Mr. Hiram Barney, then Collector of the Port of New York, to leave Washington at once, as communication might be cut off before morning;<sup>81</sup> Stanton and Halleck assured President Lincoln that the Capital was lost.

Singularly enough the designs against Washington in the East were at the same time and in the same manner being duplicated against Cincinnati, then the "Queen City of the West."

On August 30, while Pope was fighting the second Bull Run battle in Virginia, the Confederate Major-General, E. Kirby Smith, was fighting the battle of Richmond, Ky. In his report to General Braxton Bragg, Smith says:

"The enemy's loss during the day is about 1400 killed and wounded, and 4000 prisoners. Our loss is about 500 killed and wounded. General Miller was killed, General Nelson wounded, and General Manson taken prisoner. The remnant of the Federal force in Kentucky is making its way, utterly demoralized and scattered, to the Ohio. General Marshall is in communication with me. Our column is moving upon Cincinnati."

On September 2, Lexington was occupied by Kirby Smith's infantry. He reports to General Cooper that the Union killed and wounded exceed 1000; "the prisoners amount to between 5000 and 6000; the loss—besides some twenty pieces of artillery, including that taken here (Lexington) and at Frankfort—9000 small arms and large quantities of supplies." The Confederate cavalry, he reports, pursued the Union forces to within twelve miles of Louisville; and, he adds: "I have sent a small force to Frankfort, to take possession of the arsenal and public property there. I am pushing some forces in the direction of Cincinnati, in order to give the people of Kentucky time to organize. General Heth, with the advance, is at Cynthia, with orders to threaten Covington."

<sup>81</sup> See Warden's Chase, p. 415.

This invasion of Kentucky was due to Halleck, as was proved before the military court appointed "to inquire into and report upon the operations of the forces under command of Major-General Buell in the States of Tennessee and Kentucky, and particularly in reference to General Buell suffering the State of Kentucky to be invaded by the rebel forces under General Bragg," etc.

That court was in session from November 27, 1862, until May 6, 1863, with the gallant Major-General Lew Wallace presiding. Its opinion recited that Halleck had ordered General Buell to march against Chattanooga and take it, with the ulterior object of dislodging Kirby Smith and his rebel force from East Tennessee; that General Buell had force sufficient to accomplish the object if he could have marched promptly to Chattanooga; that the plan of operation prescribed by General Halleck compelled General Buell to repair the Memphis and Charleston railroad from Corinth to Decatur, and put it in running order; that the road proved of comparatively little service; that the work forced such delays that a prompt march upon Chattanooga was impossible, while they made the rebel invasion of Tennessee and Kentucky possible. Our forces were driven northward to the Ohio, leaving the Memphis and Charleston railroad in excellent condition for the use of the Confederates. Strangely enough, Halleck's orders to Buell had inured to the benefit of the Confederates in the West, in the same manner and along the same lines as his orders to McClellan and to Pope had inured to the benefit of the Confederates in the East.

Both Washington and Cincinnati were imperiled at the same time, and by the same officer, General-in-Chief Halleck, and in the same way—by a succession of steps that appear to have been carefully planned.

Now, mark what follows.

On March 1, 1872, the House of Representatives called upon the Secretary of War for a copy of the proceedings of that military court; and on April 13 the Secretary reported to the House, "that a careful and exhaustive search among all the records and files in this Department fails to discover what disposition was made of the proceedings of the Commission," etc.

But though the records of those proceedings which fix the blame for that campaign upon Major-General Halleck were lost or stolen from the archives of the War Department, Benn Pitman, the phonographic

reporter of the court, had possession of a report of those proceedings. And, by Act of Congress, approved by President Grant on June 5, 1872, the Secretary of War was "directed to employ at once Benn Pitman to make a full and complete transcript of the phonographic notes taken by him during the said investigation, and to put the same on file among the records of the War Department, and to furnish a copy of the same to Congress."

The report of those proceedings may now be found in "Official Records," Series I, Vol. XVI, Part I, pp. 6 to 726, inclusive. The most melancholy part of the story lies in the fact that Porter, who certainly helped to save Washington from falling into Lee's hands, had his life blasted by Halleck, and died without knowledge that Halleck, not Pope, was really guilty of the disaster which so nearly resulted in the abandonment of the Capital to the Confederates, and while Halleck was directing affairs in the West in such a manner as to imperil Cincinnati.

The remarkable co-operation between Pope and Buell for the surrender of those cities, and which was attempted by Halleck, does not look like a concatenation of accidental circumstances. This is accentuated by the charge against Halleck's loyalty to the Republic which was made by the gallant Wallace after he had presided over that Buell military court. He was a careful man; and, being a good lawyer, he understood the laws and effect of evidence. Porter, who prevented the surrender of Washington, and Buell, who saved Cincinnati, were both punished. It looks as if they had interfered with Halleck's plan of a general surrender.

#### L'ENVOI

In January, 1899, the writer commenced to unravel the mystery surrounding the battle of Harper's Ferry, which culminated in the surrender of that post September 15, 1862. He was a member of that garrison, and he knew that history had not truthfully recorded the defense, some chronicles reading that "Harper's Ferry fell without a struggle," others that "there was no defense"; in the main, historians were a unit.

Such reports are wholly false. The defense of that post was stubborn and prolonged, lasting from September 11, when the Confederates showed themselves in Pleasant Valley, until the 15th, when the garrison was subjected to one of the fiercest bombardments of the Civil War. Never was hope abandoned until the last shell was expended, though the



little garrison of 12,500 men was besieged by what was practically the whole of Lee's army. Starting on a new line of research, and abandoning the path beaten by others, he found many battles lost in the same manner, and the responsibility shifted from the shoulders of the guilty and carefully loaded upon those of the innocent, and all by the use of the same means, a false report by General-in-Chief Halleck, and a bogus trial by a military court.

Conspicuous among these was the battle of Second Bull Run, followed by the trial of Fitz-John Porter. That battle was certainly lost by Halleck, as shown by documents over that general's own signature. And Pope knew it, and charged that it was premeditated. To avoid the odium which some papers were attaching to his name, the latter applied the whip and spur to the former, who, under threat of exposure, ordered the court-martial of the innocent and gallant Major-General Fitz-John Porter. The battle of Harper's Ferry followed; the result was the same; lost by Halleck; responsibility lifted from his shoulders, and carefully divided between General McClellan (for not relieving the post) and Colonel Dixon S. Mills (for not defending it). After that came Fredericksburg, with similar results; lost by Halleck; responsibility lifted from his shoulders, and divided between Burnside and Franklin.

Study the plans adopted in one instance; the plans adopted in the others become manifest. The losing of the battles to the Union arms was accomplished by carefully prepared plans, and reduced to an exact science.

R. N. ARPE.

NEW YORK CITY.



## THE NORTHERN NECK OF VIRGINIA

### PRESENT-DAY ASPECTS OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTHPLACE

**F**IVE Virginia counties lying between the Potomac and the Rappahannock constitute the Northern Neck, the region in which George Washington, Light Horse Harry Lee, and his more famous son were born and bred. There are a scant thousand square miles in these counties of King George, Westmoreland, Richmond, Northumberland, and Lancaster, and the population of the five is under fifty-five thousand. At no point are the rivers much more than thirty miles apart, and near the northern boundary line of King George the harbors on the two streams are only nine miles apart. Washington was born on a lonely plantation in Westmoreland County, bordering the beautiful Bridges Creek, within sight of the Potomac. At Colonial Beach, two or three miles across the mouth of Monroe Creek, also in Westmoreland County, stands a house in good repair, which is declared to have been the residence of Light Horse Harry Lee before he removed to Fairfax County. Washington as an infant was taken by his parents to their new home opposite Fredericksburg, in Stafford County, and at the age of twenty he inherited from his half-brother Lawrence the fine estate of Mount Vernon, in Fairfax County. Lawrence had named his estate in honor of Admiral Vernon, with whom the young Virginian had served as an officer in the campaign against the Spanish-American stronghold of Cartagena. It was Lawrence's acquaintance with Admiral Vernon that won for George Washington the offer of a midshipman's commission in the royal navy, an appointment that only his mother's strong objection prevented him from accepting.

From the birthplace of Washington to his second home opposite Fredericksburg is hardly more than fifty-five miles as the crow flies, and from the birthplace to the scene of his death at Mount Vernon is under seventy miles. The triangle enclosed by the lines connecting these points includes a tract of Virginia that is full of historic interest, and singularly rich and beautiful as an agricultural region. Most of the counties of the Northern Neck are increasing in population, but they lie far from railways, and their mode of communication with the outside world is the steamboats that ply from Baltimore up and down the two rivers.

In spite, therefore, of the rolling years, and of civil war, and emancipation, the Northern Neck of Virginia is in many respects much what it was when George Washington and Light Horse Harry Lee were born a month apart in the quaint and lovely old Westmoreland of the year 1732. The visitor to Mount Vernon comes away with a strong impression of Washington, the local magnate and world-wide hero. But Mount Vernon, in spite of its tomb and its relics, many of them actually used and handled by Washington himself, can hardly give one the eighteenth century atmosphere. To obtain that one must make a pilgrimage to the region of Washington's birth. A fair shaft erected by the Federal Government now stands on the spot occupied by the homestead of Augustine Washington, the birthplace of his mighty son. The spot is as remote and lonely as it was when Washington's eyes first saw the light, and the aspect of the region must be much what it was in that day. Doubtless the woodland has shrunk in area and the plowed land has widened. But there, in full view from the monument, are the land-locked tidal waters of the little stream, and eastward lies the broad lazy flood of the Potomac, idly moving beneath the soft overarching sky. Everywhere are the marks of an old civilization. The road that leads from the wharf at Wakefield on Monroe Creek to the monument is lined with cherry trees escaped from the old orchards of the neighborhood. The mockingbird sings in all the woodlands as it must have sung in the ears of Augustine Washington as he moved about his fields, and gray old log granaries of the eighteenth century pattern still stand amid piles of last year's corncobs. Even today brand-new corn cribs are built in the same fashion of partly hewn logs. The crops are also those of the earlier century. The monument itself stands in the midst of a waving wheat field, and acres of Indian corn rustle green and rich as they must have rustled in the first hot summer of George Washington's infancy.

The reality of it all is increased by the bodily presence of Washington's own kin, men and women bearing his name, the descendants of his collateral relatives. A little boat rocking at anchor off the wharf at Wakefield is the fishing dory of Lawrence Washington, commonly called "Lal" Washington by his neighbors. He is a man of substance and dignity. But he takes delight in fishing his own pound nets, and the unpretentious fishermen of the region tell how the old man's enthusiasm was such that he rushed waist deep into the water to help three or four young fellows drag ashore a heavily laden seine. His brother was for years State's Attorney of a neighboring county, and other members of the

family are landholders in Westmoreland. Their neighbors accept these families of historic name in a simple, matter-of-fact fashion, and with no humiliating sense of inferiority. "They're all smart people," said the young fisherman that sailed us across Monroe Creek to the wharf at Wakefield, and that is what Westmoreland expects of the Washingtons.

Neighboring plantations are stocked with fine old European nut and fruit trees, such as the colonists with the increasing wealth of the third and fourth generations were accustomed to import. In some places the fig is cultivated, and within the shadow of the birthplace monument is a dense colony of young fig shoots which have sprung and resprung after every severe winter for perhaps more than a century and a half. The steep bank of Bridges Creek to the southeast of the monument is lined with cherry trees that to this day bear excellent fruit, to be had merely for the picking. One gathers from all the surroundings of the place a strong sense of the dignity and simplicity that mark plantation life in Virginia.

It is a quiet life, indeed, that the people of these Westmoreland plantations lead. Even to this day sailing craft slowly worm their way far into the deep navigable inlets of the region, and carry freight to Baltimore and Washington. Each plantation has its own wharf, and each planter keeps a lookout for the coming schooner, just as their ancestors of Washington's day must have watched for the slow and patient craft that plied up and down the Potomac, and away to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, or across the Atlantic to England, a voyage that might stretch out for six or eight, ten, or even twelve weeks.

The very speech of the people has a slightly archaic flavor, and family names are redolent of old English ancestry. Here still are the Kendalls, who like to boast that one of their ancestors was the earliest mail contractor in Virginia. The elder Kendall, a man of substance and fair education, found satisfactory reasons for selling all that he had and coming to Jamestown with Captain John Smith. In coming away he left behind a son just grown to manhood and some debts owing to the estate. The son was instructed to collect what he could of the proceeds, invest it in blankets and trinkets such as the Indians liked, and to follow the father to Jamestown. The young man obeyed the paternal instructions, but in sailing up the Potomac with his freight of gewgaws he mistook the Potomac for the James. After vainly looking for Jamestown, he concluded that the settlement had been destroyed by the Indians, and, having reached the present site of Alexandria, he made a settlement and called it Bell

Haven. Some months later an Indian who visited Bell Haven made the settlers to understand that there were white men on a river further south. Young Kendall knew then that Jamestown was still in being. So he wrote a letter to his father and entrusted it to the Indian to be delivered at Jamestown, paying him for the service one gay woolen blanket. Father and son thus came into communication, but the son remained at Bell Haven, and from him are descended the Kendalls of the Northern Neck.

The whole region teems with traditions of Washington. Down in Northumberland County, the lovely little harbor of Lodge is named from the fact that here stood the Masonic lodge that Washington used to attend. The British destroyed the house during the Revolutionary War, but the cornerstone was found and opened not many years ago, and some of its treasures of old English money were placed in the cornerstone of the Masonic lodge at Kinsale, another charming little Virginia harbor. It is at Lodge that the maker of canceling dies for the Post Office Department, exiled from Washington because of the climate, has for nearly twenty years carried on his business with the aid of country youths trained for the purpose.

If the shore is much what it was in Washington's infancy, the river and its tributaries are even more so. Those who know the Potomac at Washington or amid the mountains that hem it in further west and north, may well have no suspicion of the vast flood which it becomes in the lower part of its course. Fifty miles below Washington the river is from four to six miles wide. Sixty miles below the capital it has spread to a width of ten miles, and in the lower forty miles of its course it is from ten to eighteen miles wide, a great estuary of the Chesapeake, with tributaries, almost nameless on the map, that fairly dwarf the Hudson. The busy steamers plying these waters to carry the produce of the plantations to the markets of Baltimore and Washington leave the Potomac from time to time to lose themselves in its tortuous tributaries. Cape on cape recedes to unfold new and unexpected depths of loveliness; little harbors sit low on the tidal waters backed by wooded bluffs, behind which lie the rich plantations of Northumberland and Westmoreland. A soft-spoken race of easy-going Virginians haunts the landing-places. Fishermen, still pursuing the traditional methods of the eighteenth century, fetch in sea trout and striped bass and pike to sell them at absurdly low prices, and for nine months of the year oystermen are busy. Every planter who will can maintain his pound net in the shallows of the Potomac or one of

its tributaries, and all along the lower course of the stream the planter may secure his own oysters almost without leaving the shore. The dainties that filled colonial larders in Washington's youth are still the food of the region—oysters and clams, soft-shell crabs, wild duck, geese, and swan in winter, and a bewildering variety of fish.

Just across the Potomac from Washington's birthplace is old Catholic Maryland of the Calvert Palatinate, settled almost exactly a century before his birth, and still rich in the names and traditions of that earlier time. The great width of the separating flood makes one shore invisible from the other, and the only means of communication are either the local sailing craft or the steamers that weave from side to side of the river and lengthen the voyage from Baltimore to Washington to a matter of thirty hours. Communication between Maryland and Virginia was almost as easy in Washington's day, for the steamboats have an annoying habit of neglecting many miles of one shore or the other, and there are days when no steamer crosses the stream. A man living in one of the little harbors of the Northern Neck, being in a hurry to travel northward, found his most expeditious mode of travel to be a drive of seventy miles to a railway at Richmond. Shut in thus, the people of the Northern Neck have nursed their traditions and held hard by their old family names, so that the visiting stranger, if he have any touch of historic instinct, finds himself singularly moved with a sense of his nearness in time to George Washington and his contemporaries. The telephone, indeed, has brought these people into tenuous communication with the modern world, but he that looks out upon the sea-like flood of the Potomac from the mouth of one of its many navigable tributaries in the Northern Neck can hardly persuade himself that the capital of 80,000,000 people lies less than a hundred miles up stream. Washington the man seems vastly more real and present than Washington the city.

E. N. VALLANDIGHAM.

*Evening Post*, N. Y.

## FANCIES AT NAVESINK

(The original manuscript of this unpublished poem by Walt Whitman, was sold in New York recently. Apparently it was never finished; which is to be regretted, as its few lines are in Whitman's best manner. The scene is on the hill by the twin lighthouses at Navesink, N. J., near the entrance to New York harbor.—ED.)

### FANCIES AT NAVESINK—THE PILOT IN THE MIST

(Steaming the Northern Rapids—an old St. Lawrence Reminiscence.)

**A** SUDDEN memory-flash comes back, I know not why,  
Here waiting for the sunrise, gazing from the hill.  
Again 'tis at morning—a heavy haze contends with daybreak.  
Again the trembling, laboring vessel veers me—we press through foam-dash'd rocks  
that almost touch.  
Again I, turning, mark where aft the small, thin Indian helmsman  
Looms in the mist, with brow elate and governing hand—



## THE FIGHT AT DIAMOND ISLAND

**S**TANDING upon one of the heights near the head or southern end of Lake George, the tourist looks down on the placid waters, and sees at his feet a little island covered with verdure, and glowing like an emerald in the summer sheen. This is Diamond Island,<sup>1</sup> one of the best known of the many exquisite isles that gem the little inland sea.

From time immemorial it has borne its present name, derived from the exquisite crystals with which the underlying rock abounds. Here is the scene of the fight which took place on this lake, September 24, 1777, an occurrence that appears to have been purposely overlooked by the Americans at the time, and which has since failed to find a chronicler.<sup>2</sup>

But before proceeding to give the narrative of this event it may be well to speak of several other points, and to make a brief statement of the military situation at that time.

First comes the question of the discovery of Lake George by the Europeans. According to the best knowledge that we possess, its waters were first seen by a white man in the year 1646.<sup>3</sup> It is true Champlain tells us that he saw the falls at the outlet of the lake in 1609, yet there is nothing whatever to indicate that he visited the lake itself, though the Indians had informed him of its existence. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that Lake George was seen for the first time by a European, May 29, 1646,<sup>4</sup> when it received its name, "Lake Saint Sacrament," from the

<sup>1</sup> Silliman, who was here in 1819, says: "The crystals are hardly surpassed by any in the world for transparency and perfection of form. They are, as usual, the six-sided prism, and are frequently terminated at both ends by six-sided pyramids. These last, of course, must be found loose, or, at least, not adhering to any rock; those which are broken off have necessarily only one pyramid."—*Silliman's Travels*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> This affair was alluded to by the English, though the Americans said nothing. Among recent writers, I have found no notice beyond that by Lossing in his *Field Book*, vol. i., p. 114. When the present writer composed his work on Lake George he had not found the official account by Col. Brown.

<sup>3</sup> See *Relations des Jesuits*, 1646, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Parkman, in his work *The Jesuits in America* (p. 219), has indeed stated that Father Jogues ascended Lake George in 1642, when, in company with Père Goupil, he was carried away a prisoner by the Indians.

The opinion of Mr. Parkman is based on a manuscript account of that journey, taken down



Rev. Isaac Jogues, S.J., who, in company with Jean Bourdon, the celebrated engineer, was on his way south to effect a treaty with the Mohawks. Arriving at the outlet of the lake on the evening of *Corpus Christi*, they gave it the above name in honor of this festival, which falls on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday, and commemorates the alleged Real Presence of Christ in the Great Sacrament.

From this time until 1755 the lake was rarely visited by Europeans. At this period the French commenced the fortifications of Ticonderoga, while the English met the advance by the construction of Fort William Henry at the opposite end of the lake.

We pass over the struggles that took place on these waters during the French wars, and come to the period of the Revolution, when a feeble English garrison held possession of Ticonderoga, while Captain Nord-

from Father Jogues' own lips by Father Buteux. The account, after describing the journey southward and over Lake Champlain, which occupied eight days, says that they "arrived at the place where one leaves the canoes" (*où l'on quitte les canots*), and then "marched southward three days by land," until they reached the Mohawk villages. But there is nothing whatever in the description, by which we can recognize a passage over Lake George, nothing about the portage, the falls, nor the outlet. Everything turns chiefly on the fact that they arrived at the place where one leaves the canoes. This place, it is assumed, was the head of Lake George, from whence there was a trail southward. Now in regard to the existence of such a trail at that period, there can be no doubt; yet unquestionably it was not the *only* trail followed by the Indians. The old French map shows two trails to the Mohawk villages, one from the head of Lake George, and the other from the South-west Bay.

It is true that Champlain, in 1609, intended to go to the Mohawk country, by Lake George, yet at the period of Jogue's captivity we have no account of any one taking that route. Father Jogues himself clearly did not cross the lake in 1646. It is distinctly said that they arrived at the end of the lake (*bout de lac*) on the eve of the Festival of *St. Sacrament*, when they named the lake, and the next day went south *on foot*, carrying their packs on their backs. This is the view given by every one who has treated the subject in print, including Mr. Parkman himself.

To this it has been answered that *bout de lac* always means the *head* of the lake, and that the terms are so used in the *Relations*; yet if we return to the *Relations* of 1668 (vol. ii., p. 5), detailing the journey of Fathers Fremin, Pieron and Bruyas, we find that this is not the case. The writer there says that while he and others delayed on an island in Lake Champlain, the boatmen went forward, "landing at the *end* of the Lake (*bout de lac*) du St. Sacrement, and preparing for the portage." At this place, the north end of the lake, there is a heavy portage, in order to get around the Falls of Ticonderoga. In the next sentence he again calls this end of the lake, which is the north end or outlet, *bout de lac*. But we have also to remind the reader, that the place where Father Jogues left his canoe, in 1646, was at the north end of the lake (the foot), which he, like the others, calls *bout de lac*. The language is so translated by Parkman and others who have mentioned the circumstances. *Bout de lac*, in the Jesuit *Relations*, therefore does not mean the *head* of the lake. We see, then, that we have not sufficient reason for supposing that "the place where one leaves the canoes" meant the head, or south end of Lake George, and consequently that the alleged passage over the lake by Jogues, in 1642, is indefensible.

berg lived in a little cottage at the head of the lake, being the nominal commander of empty Fort George. With the commencement of the struggle for liberty, Lake George resumed its former importance as a part of the main highway to the Canadas, and by this route our troops went northward, until the tide turned, and our own soil, in the summer of 1777, became the scene of fresh invasion. Then Burgoyne's troops poured in like a flood, and for a time swept all before them. It was at this period that the fight at Diamond Island took place.

Burgoyne had pushed with his troops, by the Whitehall route, far to the southward of Lake George, being determined to strike at Albany, having left but a small force at Ticonderoga, a handful of men at Fort George, and a garrison at Diamond Island to guard the stores accumulated there. Seeing the opportunity thus broadly presented, General Lincoln, acting under the direction of Gates, resolved to make an effort to destroy Burgoyne's line of communication, and, if possible, capture his supplies. To this end, he despatched Colonel John Brown with a force to attack Ticonderoga, an enterprise which, though attended with partial success, failed in the end. To this failure he subsequently added another, which resulted from the fight at Diamond Island.

But since the printed accounts of the attack upon Ticonderoga are almost as meagre as those of the struggle at the island, we will here give the official report, which is likewise to be found among the Gates Papers, now in the possession of the Historical Society of New York, prefacing the report, however, with the English statement of Burgoyne.

In the course of a vindication of his military policy, General Burgoyne writes as follows:

"During the events stated above, an attempt was made against Ticonderoga by an army assembled under Major-General Lincoln, who found means to march with a considerable corps from Huberton undiscovered, while another column of his force passed the mountains Skenesborough and Lake George, and on the morning of the 18th of September a sudden and general attack was made upon the carrying place at Lake-George, Sugar-Hill, Ticonderoga, and Mount-Independence. The sea officers commanding the armed sloop stationed to defend the carrying place, as also some of the officers commanding at the post of Sugar-Hill and at the Portage, were surprised, and a considerable part of four companies of the 53d regiment were made prisoners; a block-house, commanded by Lieutenant Lord of the 53d, was the only post on that side that had time to make use of their arms, and they made a brave defence till cannon taken from the surprised vessel was brought against them.

After stating and lamenting so fatal a want of vigilance, I have to inform your Lordship of the satisfactory events which followed.

The enemy having twice summoned Brigadier General Powell, and received such answer as became a gallant officer entrusted with so important a post, and having tried during the course of four days several attacks, and being repulsed in all, retreated without having done any considerable damage.

Brigadier General Powell, from whose report to me I extract this relation, gives great commendations to the regiment of Prince Frederick, and the other troops stationed at Mount-Independence. The Brigadier also mentions with great applause the behaviour of Captain Taylor of the 21st regiment, who was accidentally there on his route to the army from the hospital, and Lieutenant Beecroft of the 24th regiment, who with the artificers in arms defended an important battery.”<sup>5</sup>

Such is Burgoyne’s account of the attack upon Ticonderoga; next to which comes that of Colonel Brown, who for the second time in the course of his military experience has an opportunity of exhibiting his unquestioned valor. His report to General Lincoln runs as follows:

“North end of lake George landing.  
thursday Sep 10<sup>th</sup> 1777

Sir,

“With great fatigue after marching all last night I arrived at this place at the break of day, and after the best disposition of the men, I could make, immediately began the attack, and in a few minutes, carried the place. I then without any loss of time detached a considerable part of my men to the mills, where a greater number of the enemy were posted, who also were soon made prisoners, a small number of whom having taken possession of a block house in that Vicinity were with more difficulty bro’t to submission; but at the sight of a Cannon they surrendered. during this season of success, Mount Defiance also fell into our hands. I have taken possession of the old french lines at Ticonderoga, and have sent a flag demanding the surrender of Ty: and mount independence in strong and peremptory terms, I have had as yet no information of the event of Col<sup>o</sup>. Johnson’s attack on the mount. My loss of men in these several actions are not more than 3 or 4 killed and 5 wounded. the enemy’s loss; is less. I find myself in possession of 293 prisoners. Viz<sup>t</sup> 2 captains, 9 subs. 2 Commisaries. non Commissioned officers and privates 143 British. 119 Canadians, 18 artificers and retook more than 100 of our men. total 293, exclusive of the prisoners retaken.—The watercraft I have taken, is 150 batteaus below the falls on lake Champlain 50 above the falls including 17 gun boats and one armed sloop. arms equal to the number of prisoners. Some ammunition and many other things which I cannot now ascertain. I must not forget to mention a few Cannon

<sup>5</sup> State of the Expedition from Canada. By Burgoyne. p. xciv. Ed. 1780.

which may be of great service to us. Tho: my success has hitherto answered my most sanguine expectations, I cannot promise myself great things, the events of war being so dubious in their nature, but shall do my best to distress the enemy all in my power, having regard to my retreat—There is but a small quantity of provisions at this place which I think will necessitate my retreat in case we do not carry Ty and independence—I hope you will use your utmost endeavor to give me assistance should I need in crossing the lake &c—The enemy but a very small force at fort George. Their boats are on an island about 14 miles from this guarded by six companies, having artillery—I have much fear with respect to the prisoners, being obliged to send them under a small guard—I am well informed that considerable reinforcements is hourly expected at the lake under command of Sir John Johnson—This minute received Gen<sup>l</sup>. Powels answer to my demand in these words, 'The garrison intrusted to my charge I shall defend to the last.' Indeed I have little hopes of putting him to the necessity of giving it up unless by the force under Colonel Johnson.

I am &

Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln.<sup>6</sup>

JOHN BROWN."

We now turn to the fight at Diamond Island, giving first the English version, simply remarking as a preliminary, that in the postscript of a letter addressed by Jonas Fay to General Gates, dated Bennington, September 22, 1771, is the following:

"By a person just arrived from Fort George—only 30 men are at that place and 2 Gun Boats anchor'd at a distance from land and that the enemy have not more than 3 weeks provisions."<sup>7</sup>

Writing from Albany after his surrender, General Burgoyne says, under the date of October 27, that

"On the 24th instant, the enemy, enabled by the capture of the gunboats and bateaux which they had made after the surprise of the sloop, to embark upon Lake George, attacked Diamond Island in two divisions.

Captain Aubrey and two companies of the 47th regiment, had been posted at that island from the time the army passed the Hudson's River, as a better situation for the security of the stores at the south end of Lake George than Fort George, which is on the continent, and not tenable against artillery and numbers. The enemy were repulsed by Captain Aubrey with great loss, and pursued by the gunboats under his command to the east shore, where two of their principal vessels were retaken, together with all the cannon. They had just time to set fire to the other bateaux and retreated over the mountains."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Gates Papers, p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> Gates Papers, p. 208.

<sup>8</sup> State of the Expedition from Canada, p. 53.

This statement was based upon the report made by Lieutenant Irwine, the commander at Lake George, whose communication appears to have fallen into the hands of Gates, at the surrender of Burgoyne.

Lieutenant George Irwine, of the 47th, reports thus to Lieutenant Francis Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne:

" Fort George 24<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1777.

" Sir

I think it necessary to acquaint you for the information of General Burgoyne, that the enemy, to the amount of two or three hundred men came from Skenesborough to the carrying place near Tyconderoga and there took seventeen or eighteen Batteaus with Gunboats—Their design was first to attack the fort but considering they could not well accomplish it without cannon they desisted from that scheme, they were then resolved to attack Diamond Island (which Island Capt. Aubrey commands) and if they succeeded, to take this place, they began to attack the Island with cannon about 9 o'clock yesterday morning, I have the satisfaction to inform you that after a cannonading for near an hour and a half on both sides the enemy took to their retreat. Then was Gun boats sent in pursuit of them which occasioned the enemy to burn their Gun boats and Batteaus and made their escape towards Skenesborough in great confusion—we took one Gun boat from them with a twelve pounder in her and a good quantity of ammunition—we have heard there was a few kill'd and many wounded of them. There was not a man killed or hurt during the whole action of his Majesty's Troops. I have the honor to be Sir your most obedient and most humbl<sup>e</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

Geo<sup>e</sup> Irwine Com at Fort George

Lt 47<sup>th</sup> <sup>9</sup>

We now turn to the hitherto unpublished report of Colonel Brown, who reports as follows, not without chagrin:

" Skeensboro Friday 11 o'clock, a. m. Sep<sup>t</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1777

Dear Sir

I this minute arrived at this place by the way of Fort Ann, was induced to take this route on ac<sup>t</sup> of my Ignorance of the situation of every part of the continental Army—

On the 22 inst<sup>t</sup> at 4 o'clk P.M. I set sail from the north end Lake George with 20 sail of Boats three of which were armed, Viz one small sloop mounting 3 guns. and 2 British Gun Boats having on Board the whole about 420 Men officers included with a Determined resolution to attack Diamond Island which lies within 5 miles Fort George at the break of Day the next Morning, but a very heavy storm coming on prevented—I arrived Sabbath Day point abt midnight where I tarried all night, during which time I [sic] small Boat in the fleet taken the Day before coming

<sup>9</sup> Gates Papers, p. 218.

from Fort George, conducted by one Ferry lately a sutler in our army, I put Ferry on his Parole, but in the night he found Means to escape with his Boat, and informed the Enemy of our approach, on the 23d I advanced as far as 12 Mile Island, the Wind continuing too high for an attack I suspended it untill the Morning of the 24<sup>th</sup> at 9 oclock at which Time I advanced with the 3 armed Boats in front and the other Boats, I ordered to wing to the Right and left of Island to attempt a landing if practicable, and to support the Gun Boats in case they should need assistance, I was induced to make this experiment to find the strength of the Island as also to carry it if practicable—the enemy gave me the first fire which I returned in good earnest, and advanced as nigh as I thought prudent, I soon found that the enemy had been advertised of our approach and well prepared for our reception having a great number of cannon well mounted with good Breast Works, I however approached within a small Distance giving the Enemy as hot a fire as in my Power, untill the sloop was hulled between wind and Water and obliged to toe her off and one of the boats so damaged as I was obliged to quit her in the action. I had two men killed two Mortally wounded and several others wounded in such Manner as I was obliged to leave them under the Care of the Inhabitants, who I had taken Prisoners giving them a sufficient reward for their services.

I Run my Boats up a Bay a considerable distance and burnt them with all the Baggage that was not portable—The Enemy have on Diamond Island as near as could be collected are about three hundred, and about 40 at Fort George with orders if they are attacked to retreat to the Island—Gen<sup>l</sup> Borgoine has about 4 Weeks Provision with his army and no more, he is determined to cut his Road through to Albany at all events, for this I have the last authority, still I think him under a small mistake—Most of the Horses and Cattle taken at Ty and thereabouts were left in the Woods. Gen<sup>l</sup> Warner has put out a party in quest of them.

I am Dear S<sup>r</sup> wishing you and the Main Army  
great Success your most ob<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

“ Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln

JNO BROWN.”

“ NB You may Depend on it that after the British Army were supply with six Weeks provision which was two weeks from the Communication between Lake George and Fort Edward was ordered by Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoine to be stor’d and no passes given—

“ The attack on the Island continued with interruption 2 Hours.” <sup>10</sup>

Thus ended the fight of Diamond Island; a fight which, if attended with better success, might have perhaps hastened the surrender of Burgoyne, and resulted in other advantages to the American arms. As it was, however, the British line of communication on Lake George was not broken, while the American leaders took good care to prevent this failure

<sup>10</sup> Gates Papers, p. 220.

from reaching the public ear through the press. Thus Colonel Brown's reports to General Lincoln remained unpublished. They have now been brought out to be put on permanent record, as interesting material for American history.

To-day the summer tourist who rows out to this lovely isle, which commands delightful views of the lake far and wide, will see no evidences of the struggle, but will find the very atmosphere bathed in perfect peace. Of relics of the old wars, which for more than a hundred years caused the air to jar, and echoing hills to complain,—there are none. The ramparts that once bristled with cannon have been smoothed away, and the cellar of an ancient house is all the visitor will find among the birches to tell of the olden occupancy of man.

(The Late Rev.) B. F. DACOSTA.

NEW YORK CITY.

Lieutenant Colonel John Brown (1774-1780), a native of Berkshire county, Massachusetts, was a Yale graduate of 1771, and in 1774 visited Canada as a horse dealer, to ascertain the sentiments of the Canadians towards the principles of our impending Revolution. His subsequent experiences with Arnold in the Quebec campaign are matters of history, but his early death, in the encounter at Stone Arabia, N. Y., in 1780, just after the discovery of Arnold's treachery, prevented the details of his specific accusations against the latter from becoming public. His descendants in Boston have long been preparing to issue a detailed biography, which should be a valuable contribution to the literature of the Revolution. The story of his Lake George fight was practically unknown before Dr. DeCosta's article was written [for the N. E. Historic Genealogic Society] and although it was afterward published in pamphlet form, so few copies were printed that it has been inaccessible to the general reader.

Mr. William L. Stone furnishes me with the following particulars regarding Captain Aubrey: He came with his regiment from Ireland to America in 1773, and served throughout the Revolution. He commanded his company at Bunker Hill, and when in the spring of 1776 the regiment was sent to reinforce Carleton in Canada, he accompanied it and aided in the expulsion of the American forces. After Burgoyne's surrender, Aubrey's detachment returned to Canada and he remained there and in command of the post at the entrance to Lake Ontario for a long time. He died in London, January 15, 1814.—[ED.]

## INDIAN LEGENDS

### II

#### THE MAIDEN OF THE MOON

[The following legend was obtained from the lips of a Chippewa woman named Penaqua, or the Female Pheasant, and I hardly know which to admire most, the simple beauty of the plot, or the graphic and unique manner of the narrative, of which, I regret to say, I can hardly give a faithful translation.]

**A**MONG the rivers of the North, none can boast of more numerous charms than the St. Louis, and the fairest spot of the earth which its waters is that where now (1847) stands the trading post of Fond du Lac. Upon this spot, many summers ago, there lived a Chippewa chief and his wife, who were the parents of an only daughter. Her name was *Sweet Strawberry*, and she was acknowledged to be the most beautiful maiden of her nation. Her voice was like that of the turtle-dove, and the red deer was not more graceful and sprightly in its form. Her eyes were brilliant as the star of the northern sky, which guides the hunter through the wilderness, and her dark hair clustered around her neck like grape vines around the trunk of the tree they loved. The young men of every nation had striven to win her heart, but she smiled upon none. Curious presents were sent to her from the four quarters of the world, but she received them not. Seldom did she deign to reply to the many warriors who entered her father's lodge, and when she did, it was only to assure them that while upon earth she would never change her condition. Her strange conduct astonished them, but did not subdue their affection. Many and noble were the deeds they performed, not only in winning the white plumes of the eagle, but in hunting the elk and the black bear. But all their exploits availed them nothing, for the heart of the beautiful girl was still untouched.

The snows of winter were all gone, and the pleasant winds of spring were blowing over the land. The time for making sugar had arrived, though the men had not yet returned from the remote hunting grounds, and in the maple forests bright fires were burning, and the fragrance of the sweet sap filled all the air. The ringing laugh of childhood and the



mature song of women, were heard in the valley, but in no part of the wilderness could be found more happiness than on the banks of the St. Louis. But the *Sweet Strawberry* mingled with the young men and maidens of her tribe, in a thoughtful mood and with downcast eyes. She was evidently bowed down by some mysterious grief, but she neglected not her duties; and though she spent much of her time alone, her buchère-bucket was as frequently filled with the sugar juice as any of her companions.

Such was the condition of affairs, when a party of young warriors from the far North came upon a frolic to the St. Louis River. Having seen the many handsome maidens of this region, the strangers became enamored of their charms, and each one succeeded in obtaining the love of a maiden, who was to become his bride during the marrying season of summer.

The warriors had heard of the *Sweet Strawberry*, but, neglected by all of them, she was still doomed to remain alone. She witnessed the happiness of her old playmates, and, wondering at her own strange fate, spent much of her time in solitude. She even became so unhappy and bewildered that she heeded not the tender words of her mother, and from that time the music of her voice was never heard.

The sugar making season was now rapidly passing away, but the brow of the *Sweet Strawberry* was still overshadowed with grief. Everything was done to restore her to her wonted cheerfulness, but she remained unchanged. Wild ducks in innumerable numbers arrived with every southern wind, and settled upon the surrounding waters, and proceeded to build their nests in pairs, and the Indian maiden sighed over her mysterious doom. On one occasion she espied a cluster of early spring flowers peering above the dry leaves of the forest, and, strange to say, even these were separated into pairs, and seemed to be wooing each other in love. All things whispered to her of love, the happiness of her companions, the birds of the air, and the flowers. She looked into her heart, and inwardly praying for a companion whom she might love, the Master of Life took pity upon her lot and answered her prayer.

It was now the twilight hour, and in the maple woods the Indian boys were watching their fires and the women were bringing in the sap from the surrounding trees. The time for making sugar was almost gone, and the well-filled mocucks, which might be seen in all the wigwams,

testified that the yield had been abundant. The hearts of the old women beat in thankfulness, and the young men and maidens were already beginning to anticipate the pleasures of wedded life and those associated with the sweet summer time. But the brow of the *Sweet Strawberry* continued to droop, and her friends looked upon her as a victim of a settled melancholy. Her duties, however, were performed without a murmur, and so continued to be performed until the trees refused to fill her buchère-bucket with sap, when she stole away from the sugar camp and wandered to a retired place to muse upon her sorrows. Her unaccountable grief was very bitter, but did not long endure; for, as she stood gazing upon the sky, the moon ascended above the hills and filled her soul with a joy she had never felt before. The longer she looked upon the brilliant object, the more deeply in love did she become with its celestial charms, and she burst forth into a song—a loud, wild, and joyous song. Her musical voice echoed through the woods, and her friends hastened to ascertain the cause. They gathered around her in crowds, but she heeded them not. They wondered at the wildness of her words, and the airy-like appearance of her form. They were spellbound by the scene before them, but their astonishment knew no limits when they saw her gradually ascend from the earth into the air, where she disappeared, as if borne upward by the evening wind. And then it was that they discovered her clasped in the embraces of the moon, for they knew that the spots which they saw within the circle of that planet were those of her robe, which she had made from the skins of the spotted fawn.

Many summers have passed away since the *Sweet Strawberry* became the Maiden of the Moon, yet among all the people of her nation is she ever remembered for her beauty and the mystery of her being.

(The late) CHARLES LANMAN.



## THE FIRST WOMAN IN THE POSTOFFICE DEPARTMENT

**J**UST the other day, during a housecleaning in the Post Office Department, a number of autograph letters written by men famous in American history were discovered in an old and battered file-case. The file-case had evidently been considered of no value, for it had been stowed away in a little-used portion of the cellar, and would undoubtedly have eventually been broken up and its contents lost or destroyed.

The papers include letters of recommendation by Horace Greeley, Garfield, Sumner, and others of then national prominence. Among the papers was the record of the first woman appointed to the postal service and one of the first employed in the Government departments in Washington in any capacity.

The documents are considered as of more than ordinary interest, particularly as autograph letters of recommendation from prominent men are now practically things of the past. The general use of the typewriter, and the fact that almost every man of prominence has a private secretary, are largely responsible for this modern condition.

Autograph letters of recommendation, moreover, are not looked upon with favor in Government departments nowadays, and a missive from Horace Greeley such as the one on file would probably be thrown in the waste basket as undecipherable. The appearance of this letter justifies all things that were ever said about the great editor's chirography.

One of the most interesting papers in the collection is an autograph letter written by Elisha Whittlesey of the comptroller's office in the Treasury Department, to Montgomery Blair, then Postmaster General, which resulted in the appointment of the first woman employee of the postal service and the second to be employed by any Government department in Washington. The letter follows:

" Treasury Department, Comptroller's Office,

December 23, 1861.

SIR: Having understood you had decided to employ females in the dead letter office under a recent act of Congress authorizing you to employ

an additional force, I present for your consideration the application of Miss Elizabeth Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, who now and for some months past has been in this city.

She is a young lady, well educated, well behaved, and a member of the Presbyterian Church. Her father died some years since, leaving a widow and a large family of children.

Elizabeth D. was born in New Orleans, teaching school when the seceding States withdrew. Not disposing to remain there, she was protected by the colonel of a regiment from New Orleans to Richmond, who was acquainted with her. From Richmond she went to Norfolk, whence she came to Fortress Monroe with a trunk and flag of truce, from thence to Baltimore in the regular steamer, and from there here by railroad. A trunk containing her winter clothing was put in charge of a gentleman who came to this city and lost it between Richmond and Fortress Monroe.

The little money that she has is now exhausted, and she is in debt for a few weeks past. She is the person of whom an account was given at the time in the papers as having created a sensation on board of the boat by hurrahing when she first saw the stars and stripes on Fortress Monroe. Of her loyalty there can be no doubt, and for it I will be responsible.

It seems to me that you will not have a case that will appeal more strongly to your sense of justice nor to your sympathy or kindness. I was acquainted with her ancestors in Connecticut, and have seen her in Cleveland. Her application is before you and I hope it will prevail. I should have waited on you in person if I could leave the office without disappointing those creditors of the United States who are waiting for their money.

The Hon. Mr. Theaker is acquainted with Miss Johnson, and will wait on you in her behalf.

ELISHA WHITTLESEY.

P. S.—Mr. Theaker has heard of the death of his wife in Bridgeport, Ohio, and has left for his home. Prof. Donald McLean, a clerk in this office, will wait on you with this letter, and he is also acquainted with Miss Johnson.

E. W."

Mr. Blair made the desired appointment, and Mr. Whittlesey's letter bears the following endorsement in the Postmaster General's handwriting:

"Somewhat mixed, but his heart is in the right place. Recommendation approved."

*Star*, WASHINGTON, D. C.

## HAND-LOOM WEAVING REVIVED

**S**EATED on a thick oak plank, worn smooth and shiny by centuries of use as the seat of a hand loom, and with Mrs. Talbot seated on a similar plank in front of a second loom in the basement of his residence, No. 193 Power Street, Arnold G. Talbot, secretary of the Tockwotton Company, and well known in social circles of the East Side, has become a hand loom weaver. Side by side, with a light between them and another in each of the front corners of the little room, Mr. and Mrs. Talbot sit every week day evening and weave plain and pattern goods in silk, linen and cotton, on the looms and in the fashions of two centuries ago.

They do it partly for amusement and partly to satisfy an increasing demand for such goods as our grandmothers wove, among people with so much money that it is really doing them a service to separate them from some of it. They have what is probably the only hand loom establishment in this State, a practical exposition of the spread and possibilities of the modern arts and crafts movement. It is right in line with the present movement for hand work in wearing materials or house fabrics by those able to pay the necessarily increased cost.

In fact there are but few such establishments in this country. In the mountains of Kentucky hand weaving is still practiced, and the products of the mountaineers, handled through a semi-public institution, have a ready sale. In Massachusetts such goods are also selling. Mr. and Mrs. Talbot first thought of the possibilities of remunerative trade when they found a demand for hand weaving among friends who saw the results of their work of three hours every evening—from seven to ten o'clock—on the one loom with which they began work. Then they procured another loom in Johnston, the town from which the first one came, and set that up beside the one Mr. Talbot had bought as a curiosity. Now they have hired a Swede woman to come to work at the loom during the day. In Sweden all the girls are still taught in the country districts to operate a hand loom, and this woman has not been in this country long enough to forget what she was taught as a girl.

Mr. Talbot believes in old things. It is said by friends that there

is nothing modern in his house except the present members of the family. He has one of the most strikingly beautiful mantels imaginable, taken from one of the old houses on South Main Street, in which the quality of the old town of Providence once lived, and his son and heir even sleeps in one of the trundle beds of song and story. So when a friend told him of the auction of goods of a collector of antiques in Johnston he went to the sale. No one else seemed to want the old hand loom there offered, so Mr. Talbot bought it, just for the sake of getting an unusual antique.

There must be many such looms in the garrets of the South County and other sections of the State, where they were shoved to one side half or three-quarters of a century ago, but few of them are set up and in working order as this one was. Mr. Talbot had the loom brought to his home and then started to put it together again. What he did not know about looms was vast and comprehensive, and Mrs. Talbot's knowledge was equally vain. But together and with the help of a friend or two whose working idea of mechanics was as great as the Talbot willingness to learn, they finally had it set up in the room Mr. Talbot had used for his den. Then they went to work to learn how to run the thing.

Mr. Talbot has a wide acquaintance among mill men, and some of them volunteered to come to the Talbot home and show them how to read patterns, that they might reproduce old hand-loom designs. So they came, and were given some hand-made goods to read. One by one they confessed that, while they could read any machine-woven pattern, the difference in the methods of the machine and the hand looms was great enough to puzzle them. They could not read the patterns, that is, tell how they were woven—so many threads this way, so many that way, and the rest. They gave it up. Mrs. Talbot, who had a rare combination of gumption and energy, tackled the problem and puzzled it out. She picked up a little here and a little there, and was soon weaving, and weaving patterns, at that.

This was early last October. The first loom had no sooner been set up and started than Mr. and Mrs. Talbot found a new difficulty. The work was fascinating, the hours they had to give to it were few, and each wanted to use the loom at about the same time. So Mr. Talbot commissioned the man he had bought it from to find and buy another for them. The second one was found in Johnston, the town from which the first had come, and was set up beside the other. After that they peacefully wove every evening side by side.

They had to work everything out from the beginning. Their thread they bought, but they had to build a warping frame, after the old fashion, and warp and link the thread themselves, running four threads at a time, up and down the warping frame. It takes them about four hours to wind fifty yards of warp for forty-inch cloth. Warping the yarn is the most essential feature of the whole process, for if it is not done well, the yarn will not feed easily, and the weaving will be stopped.

Everything about the looms, except the operators and the harnesses, is old. The harnesses, which came with the looms, were of cord, and the new ones are superior. The reeds used in the looms are of split reed, and Mrs. Talbot considers them better than the modern ones of steel. The looms themselves are built of white oak, and as their history is known, Mr. Talbot is safe in the statement that they are each more than 200 years old. He has even procured the square and compasses with which they were built. One loom is used for plain weaving, the other one for pattern work.

Mr. and Mrs. Talbot have named it the Hearthside Loom, a charmingly descriptive name, and have already produced some very handsome patterns, some of them copies of old patterns of two centuries ago, some of them from Mrs. Talbot's ideas, or from patterns made by Mr. Talbot for their original work. They have found a good demand for their products at prices ranging from \$3 a yard for tabbie weaving—the straight up and down, plain weaving—to about \$5 a yard for silk goods. In linen, which costs \$2.50 a yard, they use all imported Irish linen, the American linen lacking the property of lasting, the oil having been extracted from it. Wool patterns and patterns in imported cloth are worth \$6 a yard, with plain wool weaving forty or forty-five inches wide, at \$4 a yard, and scrim curtains at \$6 a pair.

A good woman weaver can weave about four yards of linen a day, or about five yards of wool a day, on such looms as these. The Hearthside Loom takes orders for pattern work on original patterns, and its work has already proved popular among people who are able to buy goods made to last. In addition to the two large looms, Mr. Talbot has a small ribbon loom that is even older than the larger ones, while the trade-mark of the establishment is a reproduction of a hand loom small enough to be held in one hand, and hardly bigger than a large shingle.

The room in which they are placed is a veritable curiosity shop. On the wall hangs the long crane from the old glebe house of St. John's Church, torn down last year, with other iron fire pieces; at the hearth are old iron fire dogs; all along the rear wall hang other antiques. The house is filled with old and curious things, none older or more curious, however, than the looms forming the working machinery of the Hearthside Loom.

*Journal, PROVIDENCE.*

---

### ERROR—MEMORIAL TREES

In our May number it is stated that Charles Sumner sent to Russia some acorns of an oak growing near the tomb of Washington, and from one of these sprang an oak now growing in Czarina Island. Dr. Samuel A. Green, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, corrects this, showing that it was George, the brother of Charles Sumner. As he says: "The incident may seem too trivial for serious notice, but a memorial tree, if it is to have any meaning, should be deeply rooted in truth and accuracy."





## BALTIMORE'S OLD STEPPING-STONES

**I**N the midst of the enterprise and activity that mark the Baltimore of to-day, visitors frequently come across old landmarks that stand out distinctly as reminders of the earlier and more leisurely days of the city's history. None of them is more familiar than the old-fashioned stepping-stones still to be seen at a few crossings, usually at the bottom of the steepest grades, and which become veritable Ararats of refuge when the streets are flooded after a heavy rain. Worn smooth on top by thousands of scurrying feet that now are still, chipped and scarred at the corners by hundreds of whirling wheels long since rotted, and streaked and pitted on the sides by the winter snows and summer rains of countless yesterdays, the stepping-stone stands amid the busy street like a milestone on the road that Greater Baltimore has trod—like the tombstone of the dead past.

Nowadays the most prominent of these old stepping-stones are at the foot of the hill below the town house of Secretary of the Navy Bonaparte, at Centre Street and Park Avenue.

There are traces of the stones still left on the steep grade of Saratoga Street, down from Courtland to Calvert, and there are some of these stones at North Avenue, near the Mount Royal Avenue entrance to the park, and their usefulness has been demonstrated more than once during the heavy downpours that have characterized this season's rains.

Probably the best-known of the stepping-stones were those opposite the site of the old Hall of Congress, on what is now Baltimore Street, between Sharp and Liberty, at which the sessions of the Continental Congress were held in December, 1776.

Speaking of these old landmarks, Col. William H. Love said:

"For many years Baltimore and Fredericksburg, Va., shared with Pompeii the distinction of having stepping-stones across the public highways. Some years ago, when ex-Mayor Latrobe and his father, the late John H. B. Latrobe, were visiting Pompeii, the elder Mr. Latrobe said: 'Ferdinand, do you see anything familiar?' Mr. Latrobe said that he suddenly felt at home; he saw some old stepping-stones.

Some years ago, if I am not mistaken, there were stepping-stones at the crossings on Lexington Street leading toward Liberty, and on Liberty at the crossings all the way down to Lombard Street. They were the cause of some painful accidents to children who were crossing and slipped, cutting their faces badly. But as a rule they could not have been dispensed with, because of the enormous body of water that came down the streets when it rained in those days.

The flow of water was especially strong down Baltimore Street, and the old stones opposite Congress Hall I remember well. The stones were quite high at the curb and were somewhat lower near the center of the street. I have known the rush of water to be so great down Baltimore Street at that point that traffic was altogether stopped by it until the storm was over."

*Baltimore Sun.*

---

#### THE GRAVE OF LEATHERSTOCKING

THE grave of Daniel Shipman, who is generally believed to have been the original of Cooper's Leather Stocking, has been definitely located in the Adams cemetery at Fly Creek, near Coopers-town, N. Y. A committee has been appointed for the purpose of erecting a suitable tablet to mark the grave, which is now merely covered with a large flat stone with no inscription whatever.

## THE BATTLE OF SARATOGA

(At a recent meeting of the Saratoga County Society, Mr. William L. Stone made an address on the subject of the battle, from which we make an excerpt.—Ed.)

**T**HIS event (which has been called by Creasy one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world) secured for us the French alliance; and lifted the cloud of moral and financial gloom that had settled upon the hearts of the people, dampening the hopes of the leaders of the Revolution, and wringing despairing words even from the hopeful Washington.

More than a century has elapsed since that illustrious event. All the actors in the drama have passed away, and their descendants are now sharing in the rewards of their devotion and suffering. And now after years of labor a noble shaft has arisen at Schuylerville to commemorate that turning point of our National destiny; which, like those of Lexington and Bunker Hill, tells of one of the earliest bloodsheds in the cause of Cisatlantic freedom, and makes the selfsacrifice of our ancestors endure in granite records for the admiration of generations yet to be.

It is a noteworthy fact, in connection with the Battles of Saratoga, that, until recently, there has been no map of the battleground from an American standpoint (Neilson's is the same as no map), our only means of information being those maps made by Burgoyne's engineers [these were then shown by the speaker] and which were published in 1781 to illustrate Burgoyne's defence when he was tried in Parliament for his defeat at Saratoga. But, within a few years, there has been found a map of the battle-ground, by General Rufus Putnam, which throws great light on one point in particular, viz.: It has always been a mystery, as I say in my "Burgoyne's Campaign," why Gates did not renew the battle on the next day, the 8th. But from this map [here the speaker exhibited the map, which has never been published] it appears that the ravines at Wilbur's Basin had been so fortified by the British, that (to quote from the map in Putnam's handwriting) "These defences (*i. e.*: on these ravines) thus fortified, prevented our attack on the British the next day."

It is also of interest, as showing the good judgment of Burgoyne's

engineers, that the roads which they cut through the (at that time) primeval forest, are the same that the farmers and road commissioners adopted for their present roads—the one, for instance, from Victory Mills to Quaker Springs, on the high ridge which Fraser took, while Burgoyne and Riedesel took the river bank.

---

## COMMUNICATION

Mr. Hammond in his article on John Paul Jones (July MAGAZINE) says that Jones left Portsmouth for Philadelphia, November 6, 1782. He might have added, as you will see by the following paragraph copied from the Journal of Claude Blanchard, commissary of Rochambeau's army, that Jones sailed from Boston with the Frenchmen on December 23, 1782 (never to return to the United States alive.)

BOSTON.

A. A. FOLSOM.

ON the 23d of December, 1782, I went on board of the *Triomphant*, eighty guns with M. de Viomenil, and on the 24th the whole squadron, carrying the army, set sail and left the harbor of Boston; the channel is narrow and has little depth; so that we were not without uneasiness. Our pilot himself did not appear to be quite composed and incessantly repeated orders. However, we fortunately got through; one only of the transport ships was shattered upon the rocks on setting sail; happily, there were not troops on board. We were to cruise as high up as Portsmouth, a pretty good port beyond Boston, where two ships of war were, which were to rejoin us and then to cruise alongside of Rhode Island in order to meet with the *Fantasque*, a vessel armed *en flute*. The bad weather changed these designs; we could not, without danger, remain upon these coasts exposed to being cast away upon them or driven upon sand banks.

On the 27th, the frigate *Iris* left us, to proceed to France. On the same day we lost sight of our convoy and our frigate. Moreover, every vessel carried a sealed package pointing out the general destination of the squadron.

The staff of the *Triomphant* consisted of thirteen officers. Three auxiliary and three officers of the regiment Médoc, keeping garrison in the ship, who, with the officers who were passengers made fifty-five per-

sons. The soldiers and sailors were in proportion, so that there were more than eleven hundred persons on board of this ship. We also had on board the famous Paul Jones, who had asked permission to embark on board of us, who behaved with great propriety.

February, 1783. On the 8th, several of our ships were obliged to put into port at Curacoa. The squadron finally sailed for France, April 4th, arrived at Brest 17th of June.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER FROM COL. HENRY GLEN, OF SCHENECTADY, N. Y., TO COL.  
MARINUS WILLETT.

[The writer was distinguished during the Revolution, and his correspondent even more so. The letter is interesting as covering a variety of subjects, including the failure of the Oswego expedition, local politics, etc., and for its phonetic spelling.]

SCHENECTADY, *13th March, 1783.*

My worthy Friend

COLO M. WILLETT

SIR:

Your letter with the disagreeable Tidings of that unhappy day I have Before me and any delay of not answering you sooner was in an exspatation of sending you the Grat & Gloriss news of peace. But out of my power as yet, But momentarily expected, when I shall loss no time of sending that Longwished pease of newes. NO MEN Felt moor unhappy Then I hearing the Miscariges of the Expedition & that through the conduct of the dam Savage(s). I cannot but condol on the ocasion & that Sincerely.

However as its the change of war for Fourthen (fortune), & Miss Fourthen to authir (other) Generals, dukes Lords & the first Generals of the Earth Let's Go back to Jullis Cisier's time Al'xd the Grat, Malberg (Marlborough) Charles the 12 of Sweden, Prince Ugen (Eugene), Cumberland & the King of prusia, what has befallen them in a moment, a woeful amangumercy (emergency) who both fell in Pursuitt of that thing called Glory & Honour which promised the fairest of every thing in the world, for you to be crowned with, for I blieve by your own acc't Major (Van Courtland?) & several other Gentlemen who was with you that not a soul of the garrison new ware you came from—you might as well been Trypt (dropped) out of the moon—for what they new—the only way is to make your self happy, its well known your activity Bravery & Courage in the case, that you are not Blamed—a few of your Enemies may say the men had no business there, But what for . . .

I am last Evening from Albany—saw all the Polititians not a word

of newes but you had in the last papers. Major Hale Just from head-Quarters, no aRivals momentarily Exspected—the Assembly ware to Brack (break) up on Saturday next, Mr Morris <sup>1</sup> whants to resign—he has some Enemies in Philadelphia who Excuse him for making Parde (part) payment—Congress won't Suffer him to Resign, wether they have it in their power to prevent him I am not able to Judge, I am sorrow for it.

The Shrief (sheriff) has a letter for Publican (publication?) the day of aLecture for a Governor, Lieut Governor, one Senator for the northen district in the Room of Genl Tenbroeck & the Reprecentatives, which is to be on the 3rd Thursday in April next—no talk of any body for to apose Governor Clinton—the Barroom talk is Judge R. Yates (a pair?)—and Thomas Pallmer—neither of the three will answer, tho the one has abbility enough but their is something wanting Palame (Palmer?) I thing had the better . . . various are the Congecturs who are the persons for Rang of Government.

My opinion, George Clinton, Esq, Governor, for thre years moor, Pier(re) V(an) Cortland Lieut Gov'r some Considerable Alteration in the Lower House . . .

Civil List either John M. Scott,<sup>2</sup> or James Duane for Mayir for the city of N. York. Recorder, I am at the last I believe, Marrinus Willet, High Shreff, tho you have been misforthen'd you have still friends at Court. So much for a little Pollitics. Calling yesterday at the post office I found a letter to you from His Excellency, which accompanys mine & Rest assured in a few days you will have one wether the war is to continue or pease to take place—there is no telling till a packet which had not come in within these fiew days

I am & Remain with Sentiments of Regard, &c.,

H. GLEN.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Morris, the great financier.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. John Morin Scott.

Addressed on back, "Col<sup>o</sup> Marinus Willett, Commanding the Troops westward, Tryon County."

## LETTER OF WASHINGTON PARTLY IN REFERENCE TO UNIFORMS

[A valuable historical letter in reference to the uniform of the Army.]

HEAD QUARTERS, NEAR NEW WINDSOR, (N. Y.,) 29th May, 1781.

*To the Board of War:*

GENTLEMEN.—I have been honored with your favors of the 13th 14th and 17th instants. My late absence from the Army prevented my acknowledging them sooner.

If the Uniforms which were fixed upon for the Troops of North and South Carolina have not been ordered from Europe, I do not see that any inconvenience can attend the proposed alteration. I think, however, the Lace ought to be dispensed with as altogether superfluous and very expensive.

It seems reasonable that a due proportion should be observed between the pay of the Deputies and the principal in any department, and as Congress were pleased to augment the Salary of Mr Laurance the Judge Advocate General very considerably by the Resolve of the 10th of November there can I think be no impropriety in augmenting the Salaries of the Deputies also to 60 dolls p. month, which is what they request.

Sir Henry Clinton has informed me that it is not in his power to permit the transportation of Tobacco from Virginia to Charlestown. I imagine there are some commercial Regulations in the way. But he says that he mentioned certain Articles to Colo Magaw and Colo Ely which might be sent in and sold for the benefit of our prisoners. What they were I do not exactly recollect, but I think Lumber and Iron.

I have the Honor to be  
with great Respect  
Gentlemen

Your most obt. Servt.

GO WASHINGTON.

Honble Board of War.



## LETTER OF JOHN DICKINSON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

[Letter of John Dickinson, member of the Continental Congress, to the President of Congress, in reference to the mutiny of the army, when the soldiers had surrounded and threatened Congress. It was written under the influence of strong excitement, as is evinced by the many erasures and additions in the original. The troops had surrounded the Congress building, demanding their arrears of pay, and honorable discharge from service, under dire threats of violence. It relates to one of the most trying periods of the Revolution, and one which threatened the country with internal troubles.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July 27, 1783.*

SIR:

Yesterday evening the Soldiers from Lancaster began their March for that Place Under the Command of their officers.—Those in the barracks behave very quietly, & are desirous of being dismissed.—Colonel Hampton informs me that Letters were sent by the principal Authors of the late Disturbance, to excite General Armand's Legion & Colonel Moylan's Regiment, to join in the Mutiny. The general Disposition of those Troops I know not; But I expect to receive immediate Advice of any Movements of Importance among them, which I shall communicate to Congress.

I am, Sir

Your very obt. Serv't.

JOHN DICKINSON.

Mr. Thomson<sup>1</sup> who does me the Honor of charging himself with this Letter, will deliver to Congress a copy of the last proposals of the Soldiers to Councils, & the Act of Council thereon.

His Excellency

The President of Congress.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress.

[Congress had adjourned from Philadelphia to Princeton, N. J.—Ed.]

## MINOR TOPICS

---

### THE FIRST U. S. FLAG

The first Stars and Stripes were displayed at Fort Schuyler (the present Rome, N. Y.), August 5, 1777. This much every schoolboy is supposed [it is very much of a supposition, however, how many in the average High School could tell the story off-hand—ED.] to know. What is not generally known is that this historic flag is still in existence; being in the possession of Mrs. Abram Lansing, of Albany, N. Y., a grand-daughter of Colonel Gansevoort, and who possesses also the original of the following letter:

Poughkeepsie, 29th August, 1778.  
COL. PETER GANSEVOORT,  
Fort Schuyler.

Dear Sir:

The great distance which your duty

calls us apart obliges me at this time to give you this trouble which otherwise I would not. You may remember I was to have an order for eight yards of broad-cloth on the commissary for clothing of this State, in lieu of my blue cloak *which was used for colours at Fort Schuyler*. An opportunity now presenting itself, I beg (you) to send me an order enclosed to Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, paymaster at Albany, or to Henry Van Vaughter, Albany, where I will receive it, and you will oblige one who will always acknowledge the same with true gratitude

Please to make my compliments to the other officers of the regiment

I am, dear Sir, your humble servant,

Abraham Swartwout, Captain.

## GENEALOGICAL

[All communications for this department (including genealogical publications for review) should be sent to William Prescott Greenlaw, Commonwealth Hotel, Boston.]

### QUERIES

27 a. ALLEN—In 1808, William B. Allen began to publish in Haverhill, Mass., *The Merrimack Intelligencer*. In February, 1812, he took his brother, H. G. Allen (Horatio Gates Allen?) into partnership. January 1, 1814, H. G. Allen, who had bought the interest of William B. in 1813, "sold out his paper, printing office and book store to William Greenough and Nathan Burrill." [Chase's History of Haverhill.] Wanted, the names of parents and birth-place of Wm. B. and H. G. Allen.

b. HOWARD — Benjamin Howard, born in 1691, resided in Chelmsford, Mass. Whose daughter was his wife, Mary?

c. SNOW—Samuel Howard, b. 1731, son of Benjamin and Mary, married (Int. pub. Sept., 1758), Mary Snow. Who was she?

d. WRIGHT—Mary, wife of Timothy Wright of Stoneham, Mass., died Oct. 27, 1755, aged 45 years (gravestone). Who was she? Timothy Wright's second wife whom he married in 1756 was Mary Green, the widow of Thomas Green.

e. PERRY—Who was Deborah Perry of Lynnfield, who married, Feb. 14, 1796, Wright Newhall? She died in August, 1855, aged 80. G 2.

### ANSWERS

19 a. CHAMBERLAIN—James Savage derived his information relative to Rebecca Chamberlain from Farmer's and Moore's "Historical Collections" (vol. II, p. 70), published at Concord, New Hampshire, in 1823, and republished in Smith's "Boston News-Letter" (vol. I, p. 232), in 1826.

The article on the "Early History of Billerica, Mass.," in the "Historical Collections," although unsigned was doubtless prepared by John Farmer himself, as he had published in 1816 his "Historical Memoir of Billerica."

In the article in the "Historical Collections" here referred to we read: "Though there is no positive evidence that any of the inhabitants of Billerica were put upon trial for the supposed crime of witchcraft in the time of this delusion, yet it may be safely inferred that several were suspected and one or two apprehended. Besides the authority of Hutchinson, the town records inform us that during the height of the delusion, two persons were in the prison at Cambridge, and that they both died there. Rebecca, wife of William Chamberlain, died there Sept. 26, 1692, and John Durant, Oct. 27, 1692. They were probably both victims of the infatuation which prevailed at that time."

The writer has made a careful examination of the original court files of

Middlesex County for 1691 and 1692 and finds nothing for or against Farmer's statements. However, John Farmer, a native of the town of Chelmsford, adjoining Billerica, does not write as though this phase of his subject were traditional with him, but rather conjectural.

GEO. W. CHAMBERLAIN,  
Weymouth, Mass.

20 d. GRIDLEY—On Dec. 19, 1717, John Gridley, then of Beverly, Mass., married Joanna, daughter of Josiah<sup>3</sup>

Dodge, of Wenham, Mass. [Genealogy of the Dodge Family of Essex County, page 35.]

g. PARROTT—Mrs. Martha Parrott of Greenland, N. H., in 1805 was the widow of John Parrott, whom she had married after the death of his first wife, and by whom she had one son, Enoch Greenleaf Parrott, named for a friend of the family, Enoch Greenleaf, of Weston, Mass. Mrs. Parrott's maiden name was Brackett; she was probably a daughter of James and Martha (Cate) Brackett, of Greenland, N. H. X.

---

## BOOK NOTICES

---

WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. WESSAGUSSET AND WEYMOUTH, an historical address by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., delivered at Weymouth, July 4, 1874, on the occasion of the celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Permanent Settlement of the Town. WEYMOUTH IN ITS FIRST TWENTY YEARS, a paper read before the Society by Gilbert Nash, November 1, 1882. WEYMOUTH THIRTY YEARS LATER, a paper read by Charles Francis Adams, before the Weymouth Historical Society, September 23, 1904. Published by the WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1905. 8vo, pp. 164.

In the beginning of his second paper in this volume, Mr. Adams tells how it came about that he delivered his first address at Weymouth thirty years before, never having

given thought to independent historical investigations before he was invited by the town to deliver the historical address on the occasion of the 250th anniversary. He confesses that at that time he hardly knew where the town was, much less anything of its history. The acceptance of that invitation, he states, marked a turning point in his life which had previously been devoted to civil and military affairs, and he expresses gratitude to Weymouth because the path into historical research, thus unexpectedly opened to him, has led him for thirty years through pastures green and pleasant places. Besides affording him pleasure, it has brought him honors in new fields of usefulness, and his labors have been profitable to students of Massachusetts history. The mature outcome of the earlier address was presented in print a dozen years ago in a two-volume work called, "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History."

In the later address Mr. Adams is merciless in his destruction of the myth known as "The March of Miles Standish." The familiar poem is shown to be without any his-

torical support, the "march" having taken place by boat!

Speaking of this incident in Weymouth history, he says, "It smacks of the savage; it is racy of the soil; it smells of the sea. It begins with the flight of Phineas Pratt from Wessagusset to Plymouth, his loss of the way, his fear lest his foot-prints in the late-linger-ing snow banks should betray him, his nights in the woods, his pursuit by the Indians, his guidance by the stars and sky, his fording the icy river, and his arrival in Plymouth just as Miles Standish was embarking for Wessagusset. Nothing then can be more picturesque, more epic in outline, than Standish's voyage, with his little company of grim, silent men in that open boat. Sternly bent on action, they skirted, under a gloomy eastern sky, along the surf-beaten shore, the mist driving in their faces as the swelling seas broke roughly in white surge over the rocks and ledges which still obstruct the course they took. From the distance came the dull, monotonous roar of the breakers, indicating the line of the coast. At last they cast anchor before the desolate and apparently deserted block-house here in your Fore river, and presently some woe-begone stragglers answered their call. Next came the meeting with the savages, the fencing talk, and the episode of what Holmes, in still another poem, refers to as

'Wituwamet's pictured knife  
And Pecksuot's whooping shout;'

all closing with the fierce hand-to-hand death grapple on the blood-soaked, slippery floor of the rude stockade. Last of all the return

to Plymouth, with the gory head of Watta-wamat, 'that bloody and bold villain,' a ghastly freight, stowed in the rummage of their boat. . . . That Longfellow wrote very sweet verse none will deny; but, assuredly, he was not Homeric. At his hands your Weymouth history failed to have justice done it. The case is, I fear, irremediable."

Notwithstanding its many variations from the historical facts, the poet's version of this affair, because of its poetical setting, is probably destined to be the only version to be widely known outside of the limited circle of historical students.

Mr. Adams endeavors to establish as a fixed fact in Massachusetts history that Weymouth as a permanent European settlement antedated Boston by at least six years; and, moreover, that this fact has singular historical interest. That it was a struggle for possession between two forms of civilization and of religious faith; one being ecclesiastical and feudal, the other theological and democratic; the fate of the two settlements during the earlier and crucial period depending not on events in Massachusetts, but upon a struggle for supremacy going on in England. "Gorges represented Charles I; Winthrop, the Parliament. If the fortune of war had turned otherwise than it did turn, and Charles I. had emerged from the conflict victorious, there can be little question Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and not John Winthrop, would have shaped the destiny of Massachusetts. Its history would then have been wholly other than New England will find much of interest in it was."

Students will find much of interest in the three papers printed in this volume.

## THE FRANKLIN BOOK SHOP

S. N. RHOADS, Proprietor.

1105 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Old and Rare items in Nature Study and Americana.

Publisher of Rhoads' Reprint of Ord's North American Zoology and the Mammals of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In preparation, illustrated work on Peale's MSS. Journals of the Long's and Wilkes' Exploring Expeditions, 1819, 1841. Send for Prospectus. Special discounts on last catalogue Geology, Ethnology, Etc. Send for it.

Popular History for People of All Ages  
**AMERICAN FIGHTS AND FIGHTERS SERIES**

By **CYRUS TOWNSEND BRADY**

**COLONIAL, 1556 TO 1759**

The volume tells of Frontenac's exploits, the capture of Louisburg by the colonists, the fighting around Ticonderoga, and the battle of Quebec. Postpaid \$1.35.

**REVOLUTIONARY, 1776-1812-1815**

A series of dramatically told stories based on the history of the greatest battles fought in the early days of the American people. Postpaid \$1.50.

**BORDER, 1760 TO 1886**

Daniel Boone, Sam Houston, David Crockett, William Harrison and Andrew Jackson are some of the men written about in this volume of border fights. Postpaid \$1.45.

**INDIAN, 1866 TO 1876.**

Stories, biographical and historical, of our Indian wars, laying stress upon the heroes who took part in them. The story of the Battle of Little Big Horn is dramatically told. Postpaid \$1.45.

**ALL VOLUMES PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED**

**McCLURE, PHILLIPS & COMPANY**

44 E. 23d St., New York.

**HISTORY OF HADLEY**

INCLUDING THE

**EARLY HISTORY OF HATFIELD, SOUTH  
HADLEY, AMHERST AND GRANBY**

MASSACHUSETTS

**BY SYLVESTER JUDD**

**WITH FAMILY GENEALOGIES**

NEW EDITION WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, ADDITIONS, AND COMPLETE INDEX, 670 PAGES

**\$6.00 NET**

EDITION LIMITED TO 1000 COPIES

**H. R. HUNTING & COMPANY**

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Every person interested in New England history should be grateful to your firm for having brought out a new edition of Mr. Judd's valuable History of Hadley. I am familiar with the work in its original edition and your reprint is faithful in every detail, while the additional features of George Sheldon's introduction, the illustrations, etc., give the book an added value. In typography, press work and binding, the volume is highly creditable to the publishers. There is now no reason why this splendid historical work should not be in the hands of every student of history and in every library.

Very truly yours,

**EDWARD P. GUILD,**

Former President of the Heath Historical Society

Established In 1833

RARE AND INTERESTING

**BOOKS**

**AUTOGRAPHS AND ENGRAVINGS  
Relating to American History**

ARE OFFERED IN NEARLY EVERY SALE HELD BY

**The Anderson Auction Company**  
(Successors to Bangs & Co.)

NO. 5 WEST 29TH STREET, NEW YORK

**Sales of Private Collections a Specialty**

## **REMINISCENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR**

by

**GEN. JOHN B. GORDON**

With Three Portraits \$1.50 Net

This is a new and cheaper edition of this book which has been accepted as one of the greatest books on this greatest conflict in our history.

**PAUL JONES, Founder of the American Navy**

by

**AUGUSTUS C. BUELL**

Illustrated, 2 Vols. \$3.00 Net

Paul Jones as a whole has never before been presented to us and under the skillful hand of Mr. Buell he becomes a living entity and new historical character capable of being measured in relation to the men of his day.—N. Y. Times-Saturday Review.

**CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS**

VOL. II

No. 5

THE  
JAN 3 1906  
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

NOVEMBER, 1905

WILLIAM ABBATT  
281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number



A COMPLETE INDEX TO THE  
**Magazine of American History**  
1877-1893

In one Volume, sq. octavo (same size as the Magazine itself)

**PRICE \$7.50 NET**

Every student who has had occasion to consult the bound volumes of Mrs. Lamb's famous magazine has felt the need of a separate index covering the whole work, from January, 1877, to its end in September, 1893. Every librarian, also, will appreciate this handy form. It will be printed in type *two sizes larger* than the old index found in each volume, and be exactly the same size in itself, so as to agree perfectly with the bound volumes in appearance.

As soon as a reasonable number of subscriptions have been received, printing will be begun and the copies delivered as soon as possible thereafter.

**About 325-350 Pages**

As only 500 copies will be made, and the type distributed as soon as the sheets have been printed, the work will soon be out of print. Early application is therefore desirable. Address the

**MAGAZINE OF HISTORY**

With Notes and Queries

**WILLIAM ABBATT, Publisher**

281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK





MONUMENT MARKING SITE OF GEN. CLINTON'S DAM  
COOPERSTOWN, N. Y.

# THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

---

VOL. II

NOVEMBER, 1905

No. 5

---

## SULLIVAN'S GREAT MARCH INTO THE INDIAN COUNTRY

### *PREFACE*

Two great flank attacks on the British forces were made by the Americans during the war of the Revolution. One, in winter, against Quebec, in 1775-76, failed nobly; the other, in summer, into the Iroquois country, against Tories and Indians, in 1779, was superbly successful. Yet while Montgomery and Arnold have had their meed of fame, but scant and tardy justice has been done to Sullivan.

Twelve years' residence in the lake country of the Empire State, amid the scenes of the march that destroyed savagery and opened the forests to civilization, has made its story a most fascinating study. After repeated examination, on the ground, of the camps, battlefields, scenes of bridge-building and road-making, of topographical and engineering difficulties, of marchings and of rest, and even of feasting, along nearly the whole of the routes of the main army and right wing, I have learned to appreciate more the magnitude of Sullivan's task and the completeness of his successful enterprise. One can more readily understand why Congress and Washington first ordered the campaign, and then realized the importance and value of its victories and happy issue.

Critical analysis and comparison of local legends, study of the mythology—that grows around picturesque scenery and striking names as naturally as moss on a damp stone—and, most of all, of the original journals and documents of the men of 1779, have but added to the pleasure of the narrator. A knowledge of the march of Sullivan's Continentals in 1779 makes the landscape between Easton and the Genesee Valley glow, kindling at once memory, imagination and patriotism.

May art glorify history and the tablet, boulder, and memorial line the pathway of the Revolutionary patriots with beacon lights of grateful remembrance.

W. E. G.

## CHAPTER I

## CONGRESS VOTES TO CHASTISE

**A**FTER the awful massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley in 1778, Congress passed a vote on the 27th of February, 1779, authorizing Washington to break the power of the Iroquois Indians by desolating their country. Only thus could the American frontiers be protected from Tories and Indians and the rear and flank attacks be stopped.

Until the Revolutionary War the Iroquois had been friends of our fathers against the French in Canada, with whom the Algonquin Indians had acted as allies. How did it come to pass that the Iroquois turned to be our enemies? Lifting up the hatchet and scalping knife against us, they left at Cherry Valley, and Wyoming, great blood spots, and along the frontier a line of fire and death. To answer this question, we must go back more than a century and a half. At that time the North American continent was divided between two quite different sorts of Indians, the Five Nations of the Iroquois, who were united in a confederacy, and the much more numerous Algonquins, who lived all around them.

In 1609, two men, each representing a different civilization, penetrated the inland waters of America. Henry Hudson, an English captain in a Dutch ship and with a Dutch crew, sailed up the river that now bears his name and made the friendly acquaintance of the tribes of Northern New York. Samuel Champlain, from France, came down the lake that bears his name, acting not only as friend, but as ally to the Algonquins, who were ever at war with the Iroquois. The boundary line between these two kinds of Indians was drawn at Rock Regio, in Lake Champlain, near Burlington, Vermont.

It happened at this time that hostile parties from the North and South were out seeking each other. Dressed in bark armor, with bows and arrows, and stone hatchets, they met in combat, not in ambush, but in the open field. The Frenchmen, taking sides with the Algonquins, killed several Iroquois with their firearms. Forthwith, vowing vengeance against these white men who had interfered, the Indians of the South resolved to seek Dutch aid. A few years later they appeared at Fort Orange, near Albany, bringing their beaver and other skins in exchange for arms and ammunition. Thus armed, they were able to go forth on

equal terms with the Algonquins to the slaughter of the French and their allies. With them the age of stone was over and the new era of iron and gunpowder had come.

Arendt Van Curler, whom the red men call "Corlaer," a well-educated Hollander, who lived in America from 1630 to 1667, was superintendent of the Dutch settlement where Albany now stands and later became the founder of the city of Schenectady. He saw at once the value of a league of peace with the Iroquois. He traveled among them, learned their language, won their friendship and held them ever faithful, first to the Dutch, and then after 1664 to the English. "The covenant of Corlaer" became with the Iroquois a holy sacrament, and the policy of all English governors was to "brighten the silver chain" of mutual friendship. Van Curler was drowned near Rock Regio in Lake Champlain in 1667. Sir William Johnson from 1738 to 1774 continued, expanded and strengthened the work of Van Curler. On the other hand the Five Nations became the Six Nations, when in 1722 the Tuscaroras, driven from the Carolinas in 1713, were formally admitted into the confederacy.

For a century and a half the Indian was a political factor in determining the question whether the Anglo-Saxon or the Latin civilization should dominate North America. This question was settled on the heights of Quebec, in 1763, when England became mistress of the Continent. During all this time the French were never able, in war or in peace, by their money or other gifts, by threats or smiles, by political envoys or religious emissaries, to break the "silver chain" or to shake the loyalty of the Iroquois to English-speaking men. To this day the Indians call the governor of New York "Corlaer," and Queen Victoria, their ruler, "Kora Kowa," or the Great Corlaer.

When, under King George, the colonists in America and the corrupt British parliament and court quarreled and began war, Congress hoped to keep the friendship or neutrality of the red men. In August, 1775, the first conference and treaty was made at Albany. Later General Schuyler was sent into the Mohawk Valley to treat with the Iroquois and met a council of chiefs at German Flats. "This is a family quarrel," he said, "and we want you to keep out of it," and the red men promised to do so. General Herkimer also met a great gathering of warriors from the Six Nations at Unadilla.

On the other side, the British agents at Oswego tried to win over the

savages, and succeeded. The Tories and British were able to present much more convincing arguments in the shape of abundance of rum, hatchets, beads, mirrors and guns and powder. Moreover the Indian is always a conservative. He holds fast to tradition. Hence he was most deeply touched by the adroit appeal to "the covenant of Corlaer," and, being told that the Americans were "rebels," he sided with the British. The Iroquois expected, in making this new alliance, that King George would govern all the whites, while they should conquer and rule all the red men in North America. It was a great day when General Burgoyne and his officers in their glittering uniforms confirmed with splendid presents the decision of the Iroquois to side with the King.

Active in the campaign of 1777, these confederate red men fought with the Tories and British soldiers against the Americans, especially at the battle of Oriskany. For a while they were broken and demoralized by Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga, when the whole British army surrendered.

When in 1778, the red men were rallied by Brant, Butler, McDonald and Sir John Johnson, they made the head of Seneca Lake, where Geneva now stands, their headquarters. Here they planned to attack Wyoming, a settlement, chiefly of Connecticut people, from which most of the able bodied men were absent in Washington's army, only old men, boys, women and children being at home. After the battle and massacre of July 3 another skillfully planned attack on Cherry Valley in New York was made, and on the 11th of October this settlement was reduced to ashes and the people murdered or taken prisoners to Canada.

These atrocities decided Congress and Washington to chastise the savages, desolate their country and paralyze the activity of the Tories. It was especially necessary to do this, because the British were encouraging their white and red allies to make the great maize lands of Central and Western New York a granary from which they could feed their very mixed army, made up of English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Hessians, Canadians and Iroquois, besides keeping up a continual fire in the rear upon the American forces.

But they had Washington, Sullivan, and the American riflemen to reckon with.

## CHAPTER II

## ASSEMBLING FOR THE GREAT MARCH

WHOM should Washington select for so difficult and doubtful a task? The chosen leader must make an expedition, as into a foreign country, through the unmapped and unsurveyed wilderness of Western New York, against a foe ever ready by wiles and cunning to ambuscade the invader. It might be, as in many a dismal case before, that his men would be shot by invisible marksmen. Who would dare to try to feed an army of regular troops with no base of supplies? With the precedent of Braddock's failure and bloody Oriskany before him, who aspired to lead? It is no wonder that when Gates was offered the command he declined it at once, much to Washington's vexation. The commander-in-chief then summoned General Sullivan. This descendant of Irish heroes was born at Durham, in New Hampshire, and grew up to be a stalwart American, a vigorous and far-seeing patriot. Just as soon, in 1774, as Great Britain forbade the importation of military stores to America, Sullivan knew there would be war.

Collecting a body of eager young men, he drilled them in military tactics. In December, 1774, he attacked Fort William and Mary, at Newcastle, at the mouth of the Piscataqua river, and took the place in daylight. In spite of the fire of the garrison, he entered without losing a man, and pulled down the British flag. This was the first hostile act of the kind in the war of the Revolution. He carried the cannon and powder to Durham, where it was stored partly in a barn and partly in the cellar of the Congregational church edifice, on the site of which the monument reared to his honor now stands. The powder reached Bunker Hill in time to fill the horns of the militia. Indeed, this was about the only supply that our men behind the breastworks and rail fence had. Sullivan commanded at Boston and on Long Island, and fought at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and in Rhode Island.

Up to this time, 1779, the French Alliance had not amounted to anything, and there were but fifteen thousand regular Continental soldiers fit for duty. Yet so important did Washington consider this expedition to destroy the Iroquois power that he detached one-third of his whole force, or 5000 picked Continentals. In its organization the army of



chastisement consisted of four brigades, a regiment of artillery and eight companies of riflemen, making about five thousand men, with about two thousand pack horses and twenty-five hundred cattle and two fleets of boats for river service, with stores and ammunition. The New Hampshire brigade, then encamped at Redding, Conn., and the New Jersey brigade at Elizabeth, N. J., with the Pennsylvania regiments, were ordered to march to Easton, and thence to move on to Wyoming, from which point the stores and cannon were to follow the army until they should reach Tioga Point, where is now Athens. Here they were to be joined by the New York brigade from Schenectady.

The Chemung and the Susquehanna, flowing from the east and the west out of the heart of the Indian country, approach very near to each other at Tioga Point, enclosing a pretty peninsula shaped like an arrow head. Further down they meet and unite in one stream, the lordly Susquehanna, on which canoes could reach the cities on the Chesapeake Bay or any of the rivers flowing into it. Tioga Point was the Southern Door of the Long House of the Iroquois confederacy, and here, as a base of supplies, a diamond-shaped fort with a block house at each corner, with hospital and barracks, was to be built. Upon this the army could fall back in case of defeat, and here be re-victualled on their return march.

In the rivers, nature provided the only highways, though the Iroquois during centuries of war, trade and travel had made many trails. From Tioga Point the Continentals were to march up the Chemung Valley and thence into the wonderfully fertile lake country of Central New York. Along the ridge overlooking Seneca Lake they would pass, in order to strike the Tory headquarters and center of supplies at the lake's northern end, where then stood a big Indian village, and now not far away is the city of Geneva. Thence westwardly they were to move to Canandaigua and along the great trail at the southern end of the smaller lakes, Canadice, Hemlock and Conesus, into the valley of the Genesee. Possibly they might be able to reach the British fort at Niagara.

Indeed, in the great virgin wilderness of Central and Western New York there was no other way of advance, save through the river valleys and along Indian trails. When leaving the former and advancing through the forests, it would be necessary for the axemen to chop their way. In miry places the pioneers must cut down trees, lay the logs and make corduroy roads. Swamps must be filled and the smaller streams

bridged. In many parts of the country to be traversed there were indeed large open spaces where the cornfields of the Indians furnished stores of food, while their gardens yielded, as our men discovered, twelve kinds of vegetables. Yet in the main, the army would have to march through a country covered with timber and brush wood.

A large force of axemen, pioneers, surveyors and road-makers would be necessary, especially as the artillery must be carried along, for Washington, being himself a backwoodsman and an Indian fighter, knew the persuasive power of cannon with the Indians. Brave as the painted warriors undoubtedly were, they preferred fighting behind logs and trees under cover. They objected, most decidedly, to stand up in ranks and coolly keep their places in the presence of howitzers that could tear them to pieces, not only by a frontal attack, but by sending shells to burst among and behind them. The Indian had physical stamina, but he lacked moral courage. Washington knowing this, ordered Colonel Proctor to take nine pieces of artillery and his regiment of three hundred artillerymen.

Of the guns, two were howitzers of five and a half inch caliber that could throw bombs, two were six, and four were three pounders. Then there was a Coehorn mortar, so light that it could be borne by four men. This diminutive implement of war proved to be very effective, being usually posted in the advance and easily carried over hill and valley. Mounted on an iron frame, with hickory legs, it could easily be "laid" or aimed at any angle. After a discharge it always kicked itself over, and, because of its long spindle-like limbs, the soldiers called it "the grasshopper." Along with Proctor's (now the Second United States) Artillery went "a band of music," that is, a fife and drum corps. In all, there were about two hundred musicians with their drum and fife majors. The lively tunes, such as "The White Cockade," "The Tall Grenadier," and "Derry Down," greatly inspirited our men, while at the solemn burials in the forest, "Roslin Castle" was the usual dirge.

Each regiment had its chaplain, and until the advance from Tioga Point in battle array there were frequent services for worship and preaching at the camps.

Washington's plan was to have a right and a left wing to the main body. While Sullivan advanced through the Susquehanna country, Clinton's New Yorkers, with part of the Sixth Massachusetts, were to move up the Mohawk river and valley with two field pieces and a fleet of two hun-

dred boats. At Canajoharie he was to load his stores and boats on wagons, each drawn by eight horses, and march over the hills to Otsego Lake, thence to descend the outlet and enter the Susquehanna at Chenango Point where Binghamton now stands. Floating past Owego, he was to join Sullivan at Tioga Point, where the Chemung and Susquehanna unite. This programme was very successfully carried out.

The left wing, at Pittsburg, was led by Colonel Daniel Brodhead, a Continental veteran, afterwards Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania. He had assembled about six hundred men, including some friendly Delawares and Cherokees, with one month's provisions, and started August 11, transporting his cattle and pack horses to Mahoning. Entering the country of the Mingoes and the Muncey tribes in Western Pennsylvania, and the Seneca towns in Southwestern New York, he desolated their houses and corn fields.

"The parings of scalps and the hair of our countrymen at every warrior's camp on the path," wrote Colonel Brodhead to Washington, "are new inducements to revenge." Although his men on their return, September 14, were bare-footed and in rags, and had had no pay for nine months, he offered to lead an expedition to Detroit. Of two soldiers whom he sent to General Sullivan, he heard nothing. "I apprehend," he wrote, "they have fallen into the enemy's hands." Dressing many of his men like Indians, he sent out various parties that devastated the region, and made it for a time uninhabitable by the savages. Very few men on our side were lost, and not a soldier but these two fell into the enemy's hands.

Although Brodhead's "Allegheny expedition," or "Diversion in favor of General Sullivan's expedition," failed to make direct communication with the main body of Continentals, yet his was a vital part of the great expedition of 1779. It aided powerfully in that series of blows which shattered the Iroquois confederacy. By keeping probably five hundred Senecas from Sullivan's front, Brodhead helped to toll the death knell of savagery on the North American continent.

## CHAPTER III

## THE LONG HOUSE OF THE IROQUOIS

THE Indian country to be invaded by Sullivan stretched from the Hudson to Niagara Falls, and was called by the Iroquois "The Long House." To this long house there were four "doors," the northern at Oswego, the southern at Tioga Point, the eastern at Schenectady, and the western at Niagara.

In 1779 there were only a few settlements of the white man outside of a thin line in the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys. The Six Nations of Iroquois, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas and Tuscaroras, were federated together and usually acted as a whole. Many of the Mohawks living near the settlements were friendly to the American cause, and almost the entire Oneida tribe had been won over to loyalty to the Continental Congress through the efforts of Dominie Kirkland, afterwards a chaplain in Sullivan's army and the founder of Hamilton College. He was one of the few white men who had been as far west as the great "castle" of the Senecas, on Seneca Lake.

The Tuscaroras lived east of Cayuga Lake, the Cayugas between the largest two of the "finger lakes," Cayuga and Seneca. The Onondagas dwelt around the lake which takes their name, and the Senecas, in the region between the lake named after them and the Genesee river. Roughly speaking, we may think of Schenectady, Utica, Syracuse, Elmira, Geneva and Ithaca as being the centers of the six tribes mentioned in their order, the central council-fire being with the Onondagas, near Syracuse.

The Senecas were, in 1779, the largest and most active of the tribes, and "the Seneca country" was a general name for the great region which Sullivan was to traverse. Our soldiers were to enter the Long House through the southern door, at Tioga Point, near which, on the fertile slope of the valley, was Esthertown, or the Indian Queen Esther's country and castle. One of their hardest marches would be through the swampy valley stretching from the town of Chemung west of Esthertown to the castle of Queen Catherine Montour, her sister, at Montour Falls, N. Y.

The mention of Queen Esther's name recalls the fact that the savages

were not entirely alone in their schemes of hostility, but that the brain and hands of white men assisted them in their bloody forays. Indeed, it was one of the counts in the Declaration of Independence that the colonies were justified in their war of independence, because George III. "has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions." There were several hundred white men aiding and abetting the Indians in the arts of war and in methods of fortification. Besides the British regulars, Johnson's Greens, loyalists, Canadians and half-breeds, two of the most eminent Iroquois women called "Queens" had white blood in their veins. Both boasted descent from the French Count Frontenac, and were married to powerful chiefs. Esther, at Sheshequin, near Tioga Point, and Catherine, at Montour Falls, near the modern Watkins Glen, were the owners of large and well-worked corn fields and of fenced gardens, of horses, cattle, hogs, and other live stock and of houses made of sawed and carved timber and spoken of as "palaces."

It must not be forgotten that from the missionaries of France, who had at various times lived among the Indians for over a hundred years, and from the traders, gunsmiths, and friendly whites of various disposition and ability, supported by the British government, the Iroquois Indians had reached a comparatively high point of progress. Even when the white men first met them these federated warriors were the most advanced of all others within the limits of the United States. They had their own myths and legends. They met in council and had orators to argue both sides of a question or proposal. They sent embassies from one tribe to another, and these envoys were very ceremonious and careful in dress and etiquette. When they made a treaty of peace they solemnly buried the hatchet and smoked the calumet, or pipe of friendship. To dig up the same weapon meant war. Instead of our letters, seals, and documents of paper and parchment, they used wampum made of shells drilled and laced together, which in belts or strings served as money, as messages, as historical records. Some of the Indian orators, Logan, Red Jacket and others, were very famous. To become such these men practiced elocution and rhetoric very much the same as do our public speakers. As the Iroquois raised and stored corn and other vegetable foods, they were able to wage systematic war and go on long campaigns. Thus they excelled and conquered the other savages. When they left the stone age, by obtaining guns from Europeans, their lust of conquest was fired more than ever.

When the white men of Pennsylvania and Virginia paid the Indians for lands, the avarice of the Iroquois was still further excited. Many tribes, even as far as Canada and the Mississippi Valley, were vassals of the confederacy. In the Iroquois we see the highest type of pagan man.

Our debt to the Indian is very great. He taught our fathers the use of tobacco, maple sugar, corn, succotash and various methods of getting food, besides the use of the birch bark canoe, the moccasin, and the snow shoe.

The Iroquois method of raising corn was very ingenious. On the lands in river valleys this was easy enough, yet they could win crops even in the forest. This they did by "girdling." They cut round the tree trunk near the ground, and again about ten feet higher, and then stripped off the bark between the spaces girdled by the knife or hatchet. This caused the tree to wither and the leaves to fall, quickly letting in the sunshine on the ground. Thus, the Indian without the trouble of chopping down the trees and clearing the land got at once the benefit of the soil. In the autumn, by burning the underbrush and trees, the ground was enriched and the space easily cleared for next year's crop. In almost every Iroquois village there were store houses made of bark or timber, in which the grain was saved.

The dwellings or long houses were made of wooden framework covered with bark and built in the form of a modern compartment house. Each had a long hall or passageway through the middle, with rooms on either side, one for each family, with a fireplace in the center and the sleeping bunks against the wall. The walls of these rooms were decorated with bows and arrows, guns and equipments, and the prizes of the chase, which all hunters love, and of war, over which warriors gloat. They had also more horrible ornaments in the scalps of their enemies, both white and red. These, stretched and dried on hoops, were often painted and decorated with feathers and strings dyed in bright colors which had symbolic significance.

Many of Sullivan's soldiers, who enlisted hoping to rescue white captives, often their own relatives, were able to recognize in the Iroquois houses the hair and scalps of fathers, brothers, wives, children, neighbors or friends. In the case of women, it was especially easy to do this.

At several places where hill and ravine, or the situation of the rivers and the inclosed land made natural fortresses, the Iroquois had "castles."

These were made by driving three rows of young trees, sharpened at the ends, into the ground to form a palisade which was fastened at the top. Inside of these were platforms, on which warriors could stand and shoot arrows or balls against besiegers. Besides barring the gate tightly, they had heaps of stones ready to throw on the heads of near assailants and tubs of water prepared to put out fires. It was expected that the artillery would have to be used against these. The orders were to burn all the Indian houses and utterly destroy the crops so that the country would be left uninhabitable. There was no mistake about the orders of Washington on this point.

While the army was assembling and the stores, boats and horses were in preparation, other expeditions on a smaller scale had been attempted. The State of New York, in the autumn of 1778, attempted to send an expedition among the Mohawks and Onondagas, but on account of the lateness of the season it was abandoned. In the following year, however, on April 19, Colonel Van Schaick leading, 558 men of the First New York regiment made a forced march of 180 miles in six days against the Onondagas. He burned three of their towns with their storehouses of food, slew twelve and took prisoners thirty-three of the savages. With the Onondagas was the hearthstone of the confederacy, and a terrible humbling done to the Iroquois pride was the extinguishing of the council fire.

Pennsylvania was also active in clearing the path for Sullivan. In September, 1778, Colonel Thomas Hartley with about two hundred soldiers of the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment, with seventeen horses, advanced northward from Sunbury up the Lycoming river and into a region of swamps, mountains, defiles and rocks. His especial object was to destroy the power of Queen Esther. This squaw had made herself very active in the massacre at Wyoming. She compelled the prisoners of war to kneel in a circle around a boulder, still called "Queen Esther's Rock," and tomahawked them one after another. This was in revenge for her son killed in a skirmish. At Sheshequin, near Tioga Point, Hartley destroyed, by the torch, her castle and everything else that could be turned to ashes. Advancing up the Chemung Valley, towards Newtown, the big Indian town on the flats, near modern Elmira, he found the enemy in force and was obliged to return. On his way he cleverly defeated the Indians and Tories who had tried to surround him. He and his men waded or swam the Lycoming river no fewer than twenty times.

He reached Sunbury again, October 5, having marched nearly three hundred miles, capturing among other spoil fifty head of cattle and twenty-eight canoes. In his various battles and skirmishes he lost four men, but killed eleven of the enemy and took fifteen prisoners. His regiment was reorganized and became "the new Eleventh regiment," under Colonel Adam Hubley, which formed part of Sullivan's army and ranked among his most effective troops.

One has but to study the map of Eastern Pennsylvania, a region rich in swamps, rocks, hills and mountain ranges, to see what difficulties awaited the general who was to move a large body of troops, with artillery and wagon trains, from Easton to Wyoming. To go up the Lehigh Valley was impossible, for between its headwaters and the Susquehanna were hills insurmountable. On the steel tracks of to-day a double force of engine power is required. So from Easton, through the Blue Mountains and Wind Gap, a road was cut through the forest, the stones taken out, the boulders stacked, the miry hollows corduroyed and the swamps filled.

Marvelous to relate, this military road, about seventy miles long, was built within ten days. It was indeed one of the wonders of the Revolution. Several hundred road builders, mostly Continental soldiers, under Colonels Spencer and Van Cortlandt, did the work in parties, while guarded by outlying scouts and riflemen. To-day the turnpike road and the iron rails and bridges of the great railway companies traverse the region in which "The Sullivan Road" once was, but the achievements of the modern engineers are in no way more wonderful. In five days the three brigades of Poor's New Hampshire men, Hand's Pennsylvania Light Corps and Maxwell's New Jerseymen, with Proctor's artillery and the wagon trains, made the march over the new road. Their camps were at Wind Gap, Larner's on the Pocono, "Chowder Camp," near the Tobyhanna, on the creek near the "Shades of Death," and at "Great Meadows," or Bullock's. Some of the relics of the road-builders, including the section of a tree carved with the camp name of "Hell's Kitchen," are still preserved.

By the building of the military road from Easton to Wyoming, and through Hartley's and Van Schaick's raids, the enemy was now fully convinced that an invading army was being made ready for their chastisement. Rousing the whole confederacy of the Six Nations, Brant, the Mohawk, and Butler, the Tory, sent their warriors to make a series of



attacks on the American settlements, hoping thus to distract and scatter the coming avengers. Sullivan, however, understood these tactics. He refused to detach any pursuing parties, and pressed right on. In April he had sent his advance guard of two hundred of the Eleventh Pennsylvania under Major Powell to strengthen the garrison at Wyoming. On the 23d, when not far from the site of Wilkes-Barre, the party having reached, as they thought, nearly the end of their journey, were desirous of entering the settlement in good order and in fine personal appearance. They halted, therefore, to brush and clean themselves, while the officers put on their coats and ruffles. Then marching forward, but having their attention called from possible present danger by the presence of a deer crossing their path, they were led into an Indian ambushade, in which several of them were killed. In 1896 a monument was reared to their memory by the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution.

Another incident previous to the movement of Sullivan's force was in the attack, by one hundred British and two hundred Indians under command of Captain McDonald, fifteen miles above Northumberland, Pa., on Freeland's Fort. This they surrounded on the 28th of July, 1779, and compelled the garrison of thirty-two men to surrender. They also ambushaded Captain Boon's party, which had marched to their relief, killing fourteen of his men.

During the same week Brant with a party of warriors moved down the Wallkill valley, destroying the Minisink settlements in Orange county, New York, killing many and making many prisoners. They decoyed into an ambush more than 150 militia from Goshen, of whom over 100 were slain. Brant then moved on to the destruction of the settlement of Lackawaxen, which was laid in ashes and the inhabitants slain.

All this was done to distract and scatter the avenging army, but every effort failed, and the Continentals moved steadily on.

General Sullivan was implored, by messengers who brought him the terrible news, to march to the relief of the burned settlements. Wisely and firmly he refused to detach a single soldier from his column. He knew full well that advance into the enemy's country would compel both red and white foes to draw away their forces and concentrate. This policy was really the best means of protecting the settlements. He therefore hastened his preparations, so as to move on at the first moment possible. On July 31, at 1 P. M., he broke camp at Wyoming. Deter-

mined not to be led into ambush or to be "Braddocked," he threw out the riflemen in advance, to guard against surprise, and moved in line of battle. The flotilla of boats, the line of twelve hundred pack horses and seven hundred cattle, the park of artillery and the brigades of infantry being all ready, the signal was given by firing a cannon on the *Adventurer*, Proctor's flagboat lying in the Susquehanna. The march from Wyoming to Tioga Point, through swamps and over frightful precipices, was safely made in good order. The procession of boats on the water and of soldiers on land were each several miles long. Reaching Sheshequin on the Susquehanna, the soldiers faced the flood, locked arms and forded the swiftly flowing river at where Milan, Pa., now stands, and then again crossed the stream to reach the peninsula at Tioga Point, where they encamped, awaiting the arrival of their right wing, Clinton's New York brigade.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE MOVEMENT OF THE RIGHT WING

THE right wing of the expedition, consisting of the 3rd, 4th and 5th New York, the 6th Massachusetts, and 4th Pennsylvania, with four companies of riflemen and two pieces of artillery, was under the command of General James Clinton. This veteran officer gathered his forces at Schenectady. He encamped his regiments around this little palisaded frontier town, while his flotilla of over 215 boats was building in the boat yards that then lined the Mohawk river, between the stream and the town's wooden walls on its north and west sides.

When all was ready, about June 15, the boats were pushed, poled or rowed up the river to Canajoharie. Then both the stores and the boats were loaded on wagons drawn by four yokes of oxen, carried over the hills and unloaded on the beach at Otsego Lake. This very toilsome work was over by July 3, and on the "Glorious Fourth" was celebrated by a parade, salute of cannon, divine service and a banquet with thirteen patriotic toasts. Herds of cattle had been driven from Kingston, N. Y., by the great western route through the Catskill mountains, to furnish fresh beef. The soldiers enjoyed their camp life in the fragrant woods, though eager to move against the enemy.

An engineer and the father of the "father of the Erie Canal," Gen-

eral Clinton's first object was to provide enough water to float his boats down out of the lake and into and along the shallow Susquehanna, in order to make junction with Sullivan at Tioga Point. To secure this, in the dry mid-summer a reservoir was made by damming up the little lake at its source near the present Cooperstown. The flow of rain not only in this, but also in the adjoining Schuyler Lake, during four weeks of waiting to hear from Sullivan, was thus secured. The gain of one month's water from sky and earth was apparent. It is uncertain from extant journals and diaries how high a level was reached, some saying that three feet, but one declaring that only one foot of water was gained. At any rate, the rise was sufficient to send the flotilla down into the valley, as if moving on a toboggan slide.

Monday, August 9, was fixed as the date of movement. On the previous Saturday, the chaplain, the Reverend Mr. Gano, inquired of the general whether he could break the news to the army. Being forbidden, he asked whether he might make choice of any text he pleased. To this full liberty was granted. When the preacher stood up before his audience he pronounced the words in Acts xx. 7, "Ready to depart on the morrow"; at which the faces of all the troops lightened.

The glad work of chopping away the dam was begun on Sunday night when the water rushed out, so filling the lower channels of the river as to afford easy passage for the boats. The Tuscaroras dwelling in the valley looking upon the swollen stream and their inundated corn-fields, deemed themselves under the wrath of the Great Spirit, and fled in alarm. After every defeat the savages, according to their custom, hung up white dogs to avert the anger and beg for the pity of their gods. Our men found these tokens of primitive religion all along the route. As the army marched overland the various settlements of Indians and Tories were destroyed by fire and axe.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

ITHACA, N. Y.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE BRITISH NAVY IN THE REVOLUTION

### SECOND PAPER

**D**URING the early summer of 1776 the American forces were actively engaged upon a work of great magnitude, which it was hoped would prevent the British vessels ascending the Hudson.

The project was the blocking, by means of sunken vessels filled with stone,<sup>1</sup> of the narrowest portion of the deep channel of the river.

This was, and still is, the waterway extending between what is now known as Fort Washington Point, about 178th street, then called Jeffrey's Hook, and the foreshore below the Palisades about due west of the Point, under Fort Lee.

Both sides were more or less protected by guns mounted in the earthworks of Fort Washington and Fort Constitution, the extent and character of which were not well known to the British commanders, though they seem to have been kept pretty well informed by treacherous informers of the progress of the work of obstructing the channel with the sunken vessels, from the decks of which protruded masts or sharpened poles, forming a rough "chevaux-de-frise," a dangerous form of obstruction for wooden vessels propelled by tide and wind.

During all the spring and early summer the British naval force in the waters around New York was represented by two very active vessels, the sixty-four-gun man-of-war *Asia*, Captain George Vandeput, and the forty-four-gun frigate *Phoenix*, commanded by an able and energetic officer, Sir Hyde Parker, Jr., son of a well-known commander of the same name, who had already done good service for his king.

On June 30, the advance guard of the British fleet under Vice-Admiral Molyneux Shulldham, Rear-Admiral of the White, arrived at New York from Halifax. His flagship was the *Chatham*, of fifty guns and with her was her consort, the *Centurion*, also of fifty, and the twenty gun frigate *Rose*, which took a very active part in later affairs. By the

<sup>1</sup> A plan destined to be tried on a larger scale, but with equal futility, at Charleston Harbor, in 1861—so does History repeat herself.

first week of July the force under Shulldham had increased to fifty-four armed vessels of all ratings, aggregating about 1200 guns in broadside, with fully eighty supply vessels and transports laden with troops under the command of General Howe, who had made the journey from Halifax in the frigate *Greyhound*, of thirty guns.

On the 7th of July, while messengers from Philadelphia were bearing the news of the Declaration of Independence to New York, Governor Tryon and Howe were consulting aboard the *Greyhound* as to the expediency of sending a naval force up the North River in order to obstruct the supplies of the Americans. Action on this scheme was evidently deferred pending the expected arrival of Admiral Lord Howe, the general's brother, with a powerful addition to the fleet.

No sooner was the arrival of this force announced by its advance guard than a squadron was ordered up the North River in a bold attempt to force their way past the obstructions at Fort Washington.

The vessels selected were the *Phœnix* and *Rose*, with the armed schooner *Tryal*, and two bomb-ketches, tenders of the two frigates, respectively the *Shulldham* and *Charlotta*.

It will be remembered that on passing the town of New York these vessels opened a bombardment, which it has been claimed was unprovoked by firing from the defences, and that a distressing bloodshed and panic among the inhabitants resulted.

The log or journal of Captain Hyde Parker relates the events as follows:

"Saturday 13th. Wind. S. W. Moderate breeze and fair weather. At 3 made the signal and weigh'd and came to sail in company with the *Rose*, *Tryal* Schooner with the *Shulldham* and *Charlotta* Tenders, at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 3 the Battery at Red Hook on Long Island began firing on us, on our standing on, the Batterys on Governors Isl<sup>d</sup> and on Powle's Hook commenced a heavy firing at us. At 5 minutes past 4 being then between the last mentioned batterys we began firing upon them at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 we pass'd the Batterys near Town and at 7 anchor'd in Tapon Bay abreast of TarryTown in 7 fathom . . . In passing the Batterys Rece'd two shott in the Hull, one on the Bowsprit and several through the Sails, and had one Seaman and two marines wounded."

The log of Mr. Savage Landor,<sup>2</sup> sailing master of the *Rose*, gives further details, as follows:

<sup>2</sup> Ancestor of the poet Landor.

Week day	Mo dy	Winds	REMARKS IN YORK RIVER
July Friday	1776 12th	N.W.	First part light Breez <sup>s</sup> Middle & latter light Breez <sup>s</sup> & clear. PM Came in H. M. Armd Brigg <i>Hallifax</i> .
Saturday	13th	S.W.	Little wind and clear w <sup>r</sup> Came in H M sloop <i>Kingsfisher</i> at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 H M ship <i>Phenix</i> made the Sig <sup>l</sup> to unmoor d <sup>o</sup> & hove short on the B <sup>t</sup> B <sup>r</sup> $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 the <i>Phenix</i> made the signal to weigh d <sup>o</sup> and Came to Sail as did y <sup>e</sup> <i>Phenix</i> & <i>Tryal</i> Arm <sup>d</sup> Schooner & 2 Tenders Steering up the North River at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 the Rebels began a Constant firing on us and the <i>Phenix</i> From the Red Hook Governours Island Powles Hook and the Town as we past and continued there firing from 6 different Batterys on the E <sup>t</sup> shore above the Town for 11 miles as high as Margetts Hooke ret <sup>d</sup> a Constant fire'g to all the Batterys as we past. they shot away the Starboard foreshroud, Fore tackle Pendant, forelift, fore topsail Clewline, Sprit sail and Main topsail Braces, one 18 Pound Shott thr'o the head of the Foremast one thr'o the Pinnacle several thr'o the Sails and some in the hull: at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 passd the last battery there Number of Guns not known Weight of mettle from 12 to 32 pounders at 8 anch <sup>d</sup> in Torpand [Tappan] Bay 28 miles above the Town with the B <sup>t</sup> B <sup>r</sup> [best bower anchor] in 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ f <sup>m</sup> low water soft bottom Veerd to $\frac{1}{2}$ a Cable Carried out the Stream Anchor to N W to Steady the Ship Terry town E $\frac{1}{2}$ N The high Bluff head head on the Western shore S W b W $\frac{1}{2}$ d <sup>o</sup> anch <sup>d</sup> the <i>Phenix</i> , <i>Tryal</i> Schooner & 2 Tenders. A M Sailmakers Employed repair <sup>s</sup> Sails damaged by the Shot. Emp <sup>d</sup> repairing, Carpenters fishing the Foremast."

The journal of the Captain, Sir James Wallace, is nearly identical in the main features recorded; repeating that "the Rebels began to fire upon us and the *Phenix*," and confirming the material damage done to the ship. As to this it may be remembered that Anthony Glean, who fired the first gun at the squadron from the guns at the Battery, claimed that his shot took effect on the hull of the *Rose*, and the good gunnery of the Americans is evident from the general damage inflicted.

REGINALD PELHAM BOLTON.

NEW YORK CITY.



## THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, WITH  
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE ROYAL COLONY  
OF NEW YORK.

### CHAPTER IV (*Concluded*)

#### THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN NEW YORK

**I**N the fall of 1767 a pamphlet of which a few copies were reprinted from a London edition, appeared in New York and created considerable excitement. It was entitled "The Conduct of Cadwallader Colden, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor of New York, relating to the judges' commissions:—Appeals to the King; and Stamp Duty." It had been presented by the grand jury in October as a libellous reflection on the Council, the Assembly and the Courts of Justice in the province of New York, and, as its sub-title would indicate, was a defense of Colden's conduct, when acting as Governor. In the course of the argument reference was made to the action of the two branches of the Assembly in these matters, and both bodies took umbrage and appointed a joint committee to investigate, and if possible discover, the author and the person responsible for the republication in New York.<sup>83</sup>

The committee carried on its work with vigor, summoning among others the printers of the province and also Colden's son and son-in-law,<sup>84</sup> and the matter finally ended in a report by the committee to the General Assembly and the adoption of the following resolutions.<sup>85</sup>

"Resolved, . . . That the said pamphlet highly reflects upon the honor, justice and dignity of his Majesty's Council, the General Assembly, and the Judges of the Supreme Court; and contains the most malignant aspersions, upon the inhabitants of this colony in general.

<sup>83</sup> Min. of Legislative Council, and of General Assembly, Dec. 23 and 30, 1767.

<sup>84</sup> Letter of Colden to Earl of Shelburne, Jan. 21, 1768. Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., VIII, p. 6.

<sup>85</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Feb. 6, 1768.



Resolved, That the said pamphlet tends to destroy the confidence of the people, in two of the branches of the legislature, and the officers concerned in the due administration of justice; to render the government odious and contemptible, to abate that due respect to authority, so necessary to peace and good order, to excite disadvantageous suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the people of Great Britain, against his Majesty's subjects in this colony, and to expose the colony in general, to the resentments of the crown and both houses of Parliament.

Resolved, That as the House has not been able to discover the author of the said pamphlet, a dissolution of the general assembly is speedily expected; his Excellency the Governor be humbly requested, in case the author should hereafter be discovered, to order a prosecution to be issued against him, that such punishment may be inflicted on so great an offender as the law directs."

This is an instance where neither branch of the Assembly can force an avowal of authorship from those who are suspected; a little later we shall find in the Parker-McDougall case that the Governor and Council did not consider it beneath their dignity to resort to very questionable actions when they were trying to find the person responsible for a pamphlet which displeased them.

It is not necessary to enter here on the details of the circumstances which finally led to the repeal of the Stamp Act and the passage of the Mutiny Act.<sup>36</sup> The more extreme party had viewed with great disquietude the passage of the latter act, and the way in which the Assembly had yielded in the matter of meeting its provisions. When the Governor, Sir Henry Moore, died on Sept. 11th, 1769 and Lieutenant Governor Colden once more took up the reins of government, the feeling was intensified, and on Dec. 16th, two printed papers appeared, the first signed "A Son of Liberty," and the second "Legion" in which "the betrayed inhabitants of the City and Colony of New York" were invited to meet on the following Monday at the House of De La Montayne in the Fields near the City, and there take steps to set forth their rights and vindicate the privileges which the Assembly seemed unable to successfully assert.

At this meeting which was largely attended a speech was made by John Lamb a prosperous merchant of the city.

<sup>36</sup> Vide Isaac Q. Leake, "Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb, Chapters II and III.

Meanwhile the Assembly had had its attention called to the papers and had declared the first to be "false, seditious and infamous," and had branded the second as "an infamous libel," and had requested the Lieutenant-Governor to issue his proclamation, offering a reward of £100 for the discovery of the author.<sup>37</sup> After the meeting in the Fields the Assembly ordered Lamb to appear before it, and examined him as to "his conduct about the two libels" but as it did not appear that his actions at the Fields had been in consequence of the two libels he was allowed to depart.<sup>38</sup> But the Assembly had not given up all hope of finding and prosecuting the author of the two pamphlets. One of Parker's journeymen for the sake of the reward, gave information against him, and on Feb. 7th Parker was arrested and examined by the Governor and Council. While the latter was detained in a room off the Council Chamber, his apprentices were arrested, and brought before the Council, and although for a long time they stoutly refused to admit any knowledge of the papers, one of them by gross intimidation was finally brought to admit that the papers had been printed in his master's office.

Parker was then brought back before the Council, told that his apprentice had admitted that it had been printed by him, and threatened, in case he refused to name the author, with the loss of his position as Secretary of the Post Office. Finally Parker, being promised indemnity, gave information which resulted in the arrest on a bench warrant of Alexander McDougall, who was taken before the Chief Justice, and on refusal to admit the fact of authorship, committed to prison.

Some seven years before this, in 1763, John Wilkes, member of Parliament, and editor of the "North Briton" had been arrested on a general warrant for having attacked in No. 45 of his journal the Bute administration and abused the King, charging the latter with falsehood. Wilkes was discharged on the ground of parliamentary privilege, and the question being carried before the Chief Justice, Lord Camden, the latter declared general warrants to be illegal. Wilkes was expelled by a subservient Parliament, but was regarded by great numbers in the nation as a martyr to the cause of liberty and freedom of discussion.

Now it happened that the vote of the Assembly declaring the hand bills libellous had been printed on the forty-fifth page of the journal. For either this reason, or more probably because of No. 45 of the "North

<sup>37</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Dec. 18th and 19th, 1769.

<sup>38</sup> Minutes, General Assembly, Dec. 31, 1769.

Briton" (which number was often used as a party-cry in England), "Forty-five" became the watchword of the Sons of Liberty, at this time a numerous body. McDougall was overrun with visitors at the jail and was forced to issue in the "New York Weekly Journal" for Feb. 15th, a card to his friends in which he appointed the hours from three to six in the afternoon to receive them.

In the same number of the Journal appears an account of one of these receptions:

"Yesterday, the forty-fifth day of the year, forty-five gentlemen, real enemies to internal taxation, by, or in obedience to external authority, and cordial friends to Capt. McDougal, and the glorious cause of American liberty, went in decent procession to the New Gaol; and dined with him on forty-five pounds of beef, cut from a bullock of forty-five months old, and with a number of other friends who joined them in the afternoon, drank a variety of toasts, expressive not only of the most undissembled loyalty, but of the warmest attachment to Liberty, its renowned advocates in Great Britain and America, and the freedom of the press. Before the evening the whole company, who conducted themselves with great decency, separated in the most cordial manner, but not without the firmest resolution to continue united in the glorious cause." In April he was indicted by the Grand Jury for libel, and being brought to the bar pleaded not guilty and was admitted to bail.

While matters were in this condition the Assembly again took the matter up. On Dec. 13, 1770, the Speaker was directed to order McDougall to attend at the Bar of the House to answer a complaint made against him by Mr. De Noyellis for being the supposed author or publisher of the paper signed "A Son of Liberty."<sup>39</sup> On his attending, McDougall was asked whether he was or was not the author of the paper. He replied "That as the grand jury and house of Assembly had declared the paper in question to be a libel, he could not answer the question. Secondly, that as he was under prosecution in the Supreme Court, he conceived it would be an infraction of the laws of Justice to punish a British subject twice for one offense, for that no line could be run, that he might be punished without end; but he would not be understood to deny the authority of the house to punish for a breach of privilege, when no cognizance is taken of it in another Court."

<sup>39</sup> Minutes, General Assembly of that date.

The Assembly decided that this was a contempt of the authority of the house, and, since he refused to ask pardon of the house, he was ordered into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and placed in the county jail.

A writ of Habeas Corpus was sued out before the Court of Justice, whereupon the sheriff notified the house and asked what he should do. A committee was appointed on Jan. 22d, 1771, "to search the journals of the house of Commons, for precedents in cases where writs of habeas corpus have been issued, to bring persons committed by the Commons before other Courts." The committee reported on Feb. 16, that several precedents had been found, which precedents were ordered printed in the Journal of the House. It was also determined that the sheriff should be indemnified for his action in not obeying the order of the Court.

The Assembly was prorogued on March 4, 1771, and did not come together till Jan. 7, 1772, and we hear no more of the McDougall affair. About this time Parker died and as he was the principal witness in the case it was probably considered useless to bring up the indictment before the Court.

From this time on, pamphlets, opposing the Crown and its policy of repression, continued to appear in ever increasing number, but the government made no serious sign of opposition, and seemed to have given up in despair the attempt to control a press which the majority of the people warmly supported.

## CHAPTER V

### THE PRESS IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

IN the Southern colonies we find, as we should expect, an absence of any very important cases bearing on the subject under consideration.

The ideas of Sir Wm. Berkeley, (for thirty-eight years Governor of Virginia), in regard to the dissemination of information, may be gathered from a reply made by him to some enquiries of the Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations.

The question being "What course is taken about the instructing the people, within your government in the Christian religion; and what pro-

vision is there made for the paying of your minister?" his answer is: "The same course that is taken in England out of towns: every man according to his ability instructing his children. We have forty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But of all other commodities, so of this, the worst is sent us, and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. But, I thank God, we have not free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both."<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the last quarter of the seventeenth century Virginia suffered from internal disorders (as Bacon's Rebellion), due to political disturbances having their origin in the English Civil War. Lord Culpepper, the Governor, was inclined to stretch the royal prerogative to its furthest limit and met the murmurings of the Assembly with a cold and gloomy dignity.<sup>2</sup>

The Assembly insisting on its rights as given in the charters, Lord Culpepper dissolved the body and endeavored to stamp out all remembrance of past freedom. In the Bland MS. p. 498,<sup>3</sup> we find the following entry: "Feb. 21, 1682, John Buckner called before the Lord Culpepper and his Council for printing the laws of 1680, without his Excellency's license, and he and the printer ordered to enter into bond in £100 not to print anything thereafter, until his majesty's pleasure should be known." Thus, the press was strangled at its birth, since we have no record or copy of any other work, and that the government continued to watch carefully lest it should appear again is proven by the Instructions of Lord Effingham, the next Governor, in which he is ordered "to allow no person to use a printing press on any occasion whatsoever."<sup>4</sup>

In the period between 1733, when Wm. Parks established his press at Williamsburg, and 1765 when Wm. Rind began to issue a paper at Williamsburg, there was but the single press in Virginia, and being the

<sup>1</sup> Original in a book in the Office of the General Court, labelled "Inquisitions &c., 1665-1676" p. 239, printed in Hening's Statutes at Large, II, 517.

<sup>2</sup> Burke, Hist. Virginia, II, 237.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Hening, Statutes at Large, II, 518.

<sup>4</sup> Chalmer's Annals, Vol. I, p. 345.

organ of the government it may be easily imagined that it had no great temptation to struggle for the liberty of the press.

With the exception of libel suits against Wm. Parks about the year 1740 (by which the House of Burgesses sought to punish him for publishing an article reflecting on one of the members), and the presentment in 1766 of Rind, and of Purdie and Dixon, the publishers of the two Virginia Gazettes (for referring in a way considered improper, to the bailment of Colonel Chiswell), in both of which instances the prosecution failed utterly in its attempt,—there is nothing on the subject which claims our attention.

In South Carolina the press was encouraged, liberal inducements being held out to any printer who would settle in the colony. As a result of this policy we find the printing press in operation from the year 1730, a newspaper being published in 1731. In the early period of the history of the press in the colony the only cause of serious trouble that we find was one involving Peter Timothy, of the Gazette, who had published a letter by one Hugh Bryan in which occurred the statement that "the clergy of South Carolina broke their Canons daily." With Timothy were also arrested Bryan and George Whitefield, the Evangelist, who had corrected the manuscript. All three were admitted to bail, and the matter was dropped.

In 1773 one of the most important cases that ever occurred in the colonies came about through the publication in the South Carolina Gazette, then owned by Timothy and a partner whom he had lately taken, named Thomas Powell, but managed entirely by the latter, of a portion of the proceedings of the Council on the previous day. Being summoned to attend the body, he admitted that he was the publisher of the Gazette, and that he had printed the proceedings, which on being asked he said had been brought to him by the Hon. Wm. Henry Drayton, a member of the Council. The Council then adjudged him "guilty of a high breach of the privileges, and a contempt of the house."

Powell refused to ask pardon of the Council which then,

"Resolved, That Thomas Powell, who hath this day been adjudged by this house, to have been guilty of a high breach of privilege, and a contempt of this house, be for his said offense committed to the Common

Gaol of Charleston; and that his Honor, the President of this house, do issue his warrant accordingly."

Mr. Drayton, who was present, and had acknowledged his share in the affair, protested strongly, but without avail, and Powell was placed in prison. Two days later, on Sept. 2d, the Hon. Rawlins Lowndes, and Mr. George Gabriel Powell, the former being Speaker of the Assembly, and the latter one of the members of the body, and both being justices of the peace, had Powell brought before them on a writ of Habeas Corpus and discharged him. The Council then took action in these resolutions:

"Resolved, That the power of commitment is so necessarily incident to each house of Assembly, that without it neither their authority nor dignity can in any degree whatsoever be maintained or supported.

Resolved, That Rawlins Lowndes, Esqr., Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly, and George Gabriel Powell, Esqr. member of the said house, being two justices of the peace, *unus quorum*, lately assistant judges and justices of his majesty's court of Common Pleas, have, by virtue of habeas corpus by them issued, caused the body of T. Powell to be brought before them, on the second of this instant September, and the said justices, disregarding the commitment of this house, did presumptuously discharge T. Powell out of the custody of the sheriff under the commitment of this house.

Resolved, That the said justices have been guilty of the most atrocious contempt of this house."

The resolution which follows calls upon the Assembly to disavow the action of these men and give them up to receive proper punishment. This the Assembly refused to do, and then both houses carried the matter on petition to the Crown, and it had not been settled when the breaking out of the Revolutionary War put an end to the affair.

In this case the attempt of the upper house to destroy the liberty of the press, was opposed by the desire of the lower house to uphold it, and the fact that this occurred on the eve of the Revolution is significant, teaching us that even to the last the principle that the press must be free had not been established in the American colonies.

## CHAPTER VI

## CONCLUSION

WE have had brought before us all the instances of any importance, throughout the American colonies of efforts on the part of the government to control the liberty of the press. Let us now attempt to deduce from them the general principles which governed the matter.

In the first place it is clear that, as the several colonies differed the one from another in their relations with and dependence upon the home government and their Governor, who represented that government, so too the press was in some colonies far more free from control than in others. In Massachusetts, where interference from outside was always resisted, control by the Governor was seldom attempted. Before the administration of Governor Andros the Crown made no attempt to interfere; Andros himself appointed Edward Randolph (*vide p. 9*) as licenser, and Bartholomew Green, the Boston publisher testifies (*vide p. 10*) to the fact that in his time (the end of the seventeenth century), Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton took a keen interest in the productions of the press, and refused to allow any publications without a previous application to him, with a copy of the matter to be published. After this period the control by the Crown again was lost in that as also in political matters.

In Pennsylvania we have an instance of a Governor representing an individual proprietor. Here the struggle between the people and Penn's representative in political matters was carried over into the field occupied by the press, and so we find in the early period of the existence of the press a dual authority exercised, the Crown and the Quarterly Meeting, both claiming the right of censorship (*vide p. 23*). In the first half of the eighteenth century the power of the Quakers passed away as far as our subject is concerned, but the control exercised by the Crown continued, although more and more questioned, until the breaking out of the Revolutionary struggle.

In New York the Governor himself was responsible for the introduction of the press and for forty years (1692-1734), it took no active part in political agitations, maintaining a cautious neutrality under Bradford. In this colony it was rather a question of the right to freedom of speech, a question raised in the prosecution of Col. Nicholas Bayard.



From the period of the Zenger trial newspapers continued to increase and the twenty-five years before 1775 witnessed a continuous production of pamphlets in which the Crown and its representative were attacked, the efforts to punish by the government being in almost every case entirely futile. The press divides itself into two groups, the supporters and opponents of the Governor, and the party newspaper becomes a reality.

In the Southern colonies the press never attained any liberty, the government being ever on the watch to repress the smallest attempt at freedom of discussion and criticism.

In the second place we find that the attitude assumed by the inhabitants of the colonies, as expressed by the actions of their representatives, varied in the different colonies. We do find this general similarity, that in all there was a very jealous upholding of the rights of the legislative body as against criticism. That can be easily established by a perusal of the Minutes of any of the Assemblies. But in Massachusetts a distinction seems to have been early established between a criticism of the proceedings of the General Court as such, and a criticism of the policy of the government. In Pennsylvania this view was only in the latter period arrived at; in New York the General Assembly was constantly taking offense at writings appearing in the newspapers or distributed in the form of pamphlets; while in Virginia the question never arose because there was no criticism.

Everywhere we find that there was, as time goes on, a general advance towards freedom of discussion. But this is best seen in non-political matters. With the failure by Parliament in 1695 to renew the Licensing Act all publication became at least theoretically free except in so far as it was restrained by the law of libel. To just what extent this law could be stretched was always a matter of dispute. The maxim "the greater the truth, the greater the libel" must certainly have exercised an influence to deter the publications of the time from the discussion of private affairs. In fact in many instances the news contained in an issue of a newspaper was practically nothing, the few columns being occupied with a very bald statement of Indian affairs, or the relations with France or perhaps a short account of something which had taken place in England or on the Continent. The needs of the community, as better roads or the impounding of wandering cattle, were lightly touched on, but there was but slight evidence of any conception of the idea that the press could lead and direct public opinion as to municipal affairs.

In political matters not directly affecting the Crown there was also a slight advance towards freedom of discussion, which, as the time of the Revolution approached, became very much extended. But here again no general rule can be established for the more radical colonies, as Massachusetts, would naturally be far in advance of the more conservative, while between would stand New York.

Of one thing we may be confident. In no colony would the Governor, as representing the Crown, permit a criticism of its actions to pass without censure, and, if possible, punishment. When the *Evening Post* of Boston (vide p. 14) published in 1741 the paragraph in regard to the expected overthrow of the Walpole Ministry, the Attorney-General was at once ordered to file an Information against the printer, Thomas Fleet, and although no further proceedings were ever taken, the omission was due rather to want of confidence in the Massachusetts jury than to any leniency on the part of the Governor. In the case of McDougall (vide p. 65), we find the writer of a pamphlet obnoxious to the Crown kept in prison even against a writ of Habeas Corpus, and only released when the death of the principal witness in the case made his conviction impossible.

The liberty of the press was still further curtailed by the influence exerted by certain classes in the community. There was always a strong feeling among those who had grants of land (either directly from the Crown or by the Crown as confirmatory of purchases already made from the Indians), against any discussion of their rights over those who were their tenants. This influence would of course be of importance only in the colonies where grants were numerous, as in the colony of New York. But another class influence, that of the Clergy, was far stronger at all times and universal in its extent. In Massachusetts and Pennsylvania it is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of this influence, and in none of the colonies can it be neglected if we desire to properly appreciate the difficulties that faced the printer in his struggle for the right of free discussion. The troubles of Wm. Bradford, the elder in Pennsylvania (vide p. 26), and of James Franklin in Massachusetts (vide p. 11), give us a pretty clear idea of the troubles that would beset the man who did not keep himself out of controversy. Just as the New England Election Sermons give us perhaps the best means of understanding the influence of the Clergy in the field of politics, so these quarrels between printer and Quarterly Meeting or Presbytery show us the feeling toward freedom of discussion.

LIVINGSTON ROWE SCHUYLER.

NEW YORK CITY.

*(Concluded next month.)*

## REMINISCENCES OF ROBERT FULTON

**A**MONG the relics of Robert Fulton in possession of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers at their house in New York City is a manuscript (hitherto unpublished, it is believed), in which in 1859 the only surviving associate of the inventor recorded his recollections. These simple and obviously honest reminiscences from the hand of a plain man become of interest, however deficient in literary art. He was J. B. Calhoun of Brooklyn, and told his story thus:

“In 1807 Mr. Fulton's first boat, the *North River*, of Clermont, commenced running on the Hudson River to Albany. Between 1809 and 1811, he had two more, the *Car of Neptune* and the *Paragon*. Each steamer had two masts—on the foremast was a square sail, two topsails, and a jib. On the mainmast was a spanker and topsail. The foremast had at the heel trunnions by which the mast could be lowered when the wind was ahead. When the wind was fair, all hands, passengers too, were called to raise the mast and set sail.

These steamers had high or poop decks some four feet above the main deck; the entrance to the cabin was by the old-fashioned ship companionway—not a house on deck. These steamers, being on the bottom as flat as a house floor, each had two heavy side lee boards, to prevent making leeway when sail was set. In those days neither the pilot nor engineer had an assistant, nor the captain any clerk. In leaving New York at five, the pilot would take the wheel until supper; after supper he would again take the wheel and keep it till next morning; he had no fine pilot-house, not even an awning to protect him from the hot sun nor the most severe weather. When coming to landings, instead of a bell to ring, the pilot blew a tin horn some five feet long; the bell was used only for meal times. . . .

Mr. Fulton had at North Point, Jersey City, four large shops, and a dry-dock some 200 feet long, 36 feet wide, and 16 feet deep to repair his boats in; the first dry-dock in this country. In those days such a thing as a cut-off, a throttle-valve, or an eccentric was not known by the engineer.

To make the trip to Albany took from twenty-six to thirty hours,

burning in that time about thirty cords of firewood. None of Mr. Fulton's steamers made the trip in less than twenty-five hours. In 1813 Mr. Louis Rhoda, Mr. Fulton's chief engineer, was killed on the trial trip of the ferry-steamboat on the East River, the *Nassau*, by being caught in the engine when in motion. He had his entire right shoulder taken from his body by the crank. Mr. Rhoda was the first engineer killed in this country."

Then follows a paragraph descriptive of Fulton's personal appearance and manners. The sketch adds:

"His death was rather sudden; so much so that many attributed it to suicide. This was not so; he died a calm, natural death in the bosom of his family, at No. 5 Broadway, opposite the Bowling Green. In attending court at Trenton, N. J., he had taken a cold, and on returning home to New York the ferryboat on which he was was caught in the ice, and was thus delayed some three hours. It was a cold, stormy day in January; this confirmed and increased his illness, which finally sent him to his grave.

In 1811 Mr. Fulton built at Pittsburgh, Pa., a boat for the New Orleans trade; she was called the *New Orleans*, the first steamer on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

In 1810-11 a company was formed—they built two boats to run in opposition to Mr. Fulton's. One was called *Perseverance*, Captain Bunker, and the other *The Hope*, Captain Sherman, afterwards well known on Lake Champlain. These steamers were some faster than Mr. Fulton's. After a long contest in courts of law, the two Albany boats were confiscated to Mr. Fulton, and he had them soon broken up at Albany, in sight of their former owners.

In 1812-13 some gentlemen in New York built a steamer called the *Fulton*, to run to Albany, by Mr. Fulton's consent, under the following terms: The new boat was to charge \$10 for each passenger, paying Mr. Fulton \$3 out of every \$10 paid by the passengers; this did not prove profitable, and the next season the *Fulton* was placed on the East River and the Sound, being the first steamer ever before on the Sound. . . . It was expected that the steamer *Fulton* would make the trip to Albany in thirteen or fourteen hours' time, but I think she never made the trip in less than sixteen or seventeen hours.

The first steamer on the Potomac River, Va., was built by Mr. Fulton

in the last days of his life; she was called the *Washington*; she was intended to run between Washington City and Norfolk; she went there in May, 1815; the writer of these lines went out with her and stayed long enough to teach a black man, a slave, how to start and how to manage the engine.

The first steamer for the great Western Lakes was built at Black Rock on the Niagara River by Mr. Noah Brown of New York, in 1818. She was a handsome vessel of 360 tons' burden, full brig-rigged. She was called the *Walk-in-the-Water*. She was owned by Dr. J. B. Stewart, then of Albany. The writer put up her engine. She was totally lost in a terrible gale on Lake Erie, in October, 1820. In these years from 1818 to 1820, no dividends were made from the earnings of the steamer. Such was the little travel on those lakes at these times that if the steamer carried thirty or forty passengers, it was doing pretty well. The strength of the Black Rock Rapids was so strong that besides the power of the engine, it required the use of eight pairs of oxen to get the steamer up the rapids on to the lake, a distance of two miles.

The first steamer that made the trip to Albany in twelve hours was the steamer *Sun*, of which the writer was the engineer. She was a double engine, called the Woolf engine, high and low pressure—had six high-pressure boilers, 24 feet long, and 30 inches in diameter, intended to carry 120 pounds of steam—cylinder, four feet stroke.

The first attempt to use hard coal on a steamer on the Hudson River was made by the Messrs. Mowatt on the steamer *Sun* and the *Henry Eckford* in 1825. Wood and coal were tried together; then coal alone. The trial was not successful, but it was soon seen that what was wanted was a strong draft or the use of some kind of a blower. The writer received \$50 for making the trial. In those days, blowers were unknown. The first blower was introduced by the late Robert L. Stevens, on board the *North America* in 1826.

About the year 1827 the steam chimney was introduced by the late J. P. Allaire. He claimed he had a patent for the same, but I think he had not.

In 1825 the steam towing business was commenced by the late Mowatts on the Hudson River, with the steamboat *Henry Eckford* and six barges. About the same year Mr. William C. Redfield introduced the

passenger-barge, towing, with the steamers *Swift-sure* and *Abe Commerce* and the barges *Lady Clinton* and *Lady Van Rensselaer*; it was an aristocratic [venture]—got up to catch the support of the rich and powerful, but it did not succeed well, and in two years it went down.

All the fixtures about the ferry landings, the bridges, the floating box underneath, the chains and pulleys, were all invented by Mr. Fulton.

I have many things in my memory in regard to him. All of the above was written wholly from memory; not one word or a line of reference have I had before me while writing this historical record of old times. When I get in good health I have much to say on these subjects."

Apparently he never "got in good health," for no other record of his than this is known.



## DOMINIE SOLOMON FROELIGH AND HIS GREAT SCHISM

**N**O region in the vicinity of New York has more natural beauty or historic interest than that lying west of the Palisades. Until a few years ago it was to most people an almost unknown land. Hackensack, Englewood, Paterson, and Passaic were familiar names; but the country north of these was seldom visited. Recently the valleys of the Ramapo, Pascack, Saddle, and Hackensack Rivers have attracted many suburban homeseekers, and their character is rapidly changing. Yet their charm still centers in the ancient stone farmhouses that speak of a civilization that has lasted for two hundred and fifty years. In some of the villages are churches built in early colonial times, and about these cluster the graves of the forefathers. New names have been given to many of the hamlets, and the present residents know little and care less for their past history. Only in musty records, and fading memories, do the ancient Indian and Dutch names survive. Ka Keat, Mahackemack, Minesing, Aquackanock, are some of these. From Tappan on the north to English Neighborhood on the south, a distance of thirty miles, this country, except in the four chief towns, was until a generation ago stagnant; its population was no greater than at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A few years since, the writer journeyed with a friend to one of its ancient churchyards, to commit to its grave the body of an aged lady. There it rests with those of ten generations of the Bogarts, Brinkerhoffs, Demarests, Zabriskies, and other historic families.

A number of natives had gathered at the porch of the church on the capstone of whose arch was engraved "Nisi Dominus Frustra." As this is the motto of the Reformed Church of America I, as one of its ministers, felt at home. The day was stormy, and I asked that the building might be opened for a funeral service. The gentleman addressed said he feared that this was impossible, as the pastor was opposed to such a proceeding. The parsonage was next to the church, and I sent word to the minister asking him to assist me in the burial office. My card was returned with a curt refusal. The old sexton was more communicative, and from him I learned the story of this "True Reformed Dutch Church"; could this

have been reported word for word it would rival in interest the best of Miss Wilkins' or Mrs. Wiggin's tales.

Two facts remain in my memory; first, that Dr. Solomon Froeligh was to this peculiar people all that Knox had been to those who sat under the Scotch Reformer; and, second, that the True Reformed Dutch Church was the remnant of God's elect; for the rest of Christendom had irrevocably passed under condemnation.

With these experiences in mind I have as far as possible gathered the facts that outline the story of a schism which, nearly a hundred years ago, threatened to disrupt the Reformed Dutch Church, then relatively among the largest of Protestant denominations. Dr. Chambers, in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, has stated: "The True Reformed Dutch Church is the result of a secession led by the Rev. Solomon Froeligh, a learned man. The reasons assigned for the separation were that the Dutch Church had become erroneous in doctrine, lax in discipline, and corrupt in practice. The secession, however, did not adopt any new standards. At one time it was very formidable, numbering over one hundred churches and as many ministers. But it now numbers hardly a dozen churches. It was a great injury to the church from which it seceded, but it is hard to see what service it has been to its own members, or to anybody else." This statement, while judicious, is hardly comprehensive. The cause of the disruption was perverse human nature; pride, envy, and jealousy had much to do with it, and the effect was that a people who might have led in the moral and material growth of the State retrograded. The evil it caused brought disaster to upwards of a thousand families who had possessed every advantage of birth, property, and intelligence.

The beginning of the settlement of the region I have described was almost coeval with that of New Amsterdam. Later the occupation of New York by the English led to a large emigration thither of Dutch families from Manhattan and Long Island. Slowly and painfully these early settlers removed the forests, drained the swamps, and established their homes. The organization of Dutch churches in the neighborhoods of this section began immediately. The people were intelligent and devout as well as thrifty. Godly and learned clergymen, among whom were Taschmaker, Varick, Bertholf, Schuyler, and Van Benschoten, soon gathered large congregations. The story of the labors of these men is one of a heroism and devotion hardly equalled in colonial history. The



minutes of the synod of 1778 reported seventeen strong churches in the district. In 1818 the classes of Bergen and Paramus, into which it was divided, reported 2,400 communicant members, and more than 15,000 persons in the congregations. At this later date some of these churches were larger than those in the cities of New York and Albany.

For many years the most influential man in the region, and in the estimation of his admirers in the Dutch Church, was Dr. Solomon Froeligh, minister of the Collegiate Churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh. Born near Albany in 1750, he had spent his boyhood in Walkill valley. There, and in the adjacent Catskill district, the venerable Schuneman ruled for fifty years like a bishop of mediæval times. He was the lawyer, physician, pastor, and friend of a large and scattered flock, among whom his wisdom and authority were unquestioned. A narrative of his life and labors is told in a story of some sixty years ago called "The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills." Through his guidance Froeligh was led to dedicate himself to the ministry. For ten years he studied under Dr. Dirck Romeyn of Schenectady—the founder of Union College—and Dr. Peter Wilson of Hackensack, for many years a leading professor in Kings College. Although he never visited Princeton, the College of New Jersey conferred on Froeligh at eighteen years of age the degree of master of arts, because of his profound attainments. He became a favorite of Dr. John Livingston, whom Mrs. Jay, the wife of the chief justice, named to Washington as the first citizen of New York. This great man, long the unquestioned leader of the Dutch Church, was accustomed to make progresses through the various congregations; on two at least of these, and the time occupied was frequently several months, Froeligh accompanied him. Upon his licensure in 1775 he received four calls, of which he accepted that of the Collegiate Churches of Queens County, Jamaica, Newtown, Success, and Oyster Bay. In 1776 his house near Newtown, containing his valuable library, and all his earthly possessions, was burned by the British, and he barely escaped death at their hands. For the eight succeeding years he went up and down New York and New Jersey as a missionary and fearless patriot. At the close of the war for independence he accepted a call to become the colleague of the Rev. Warmardus Kuypers in the pastorate of the Collegiate Churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh. Shortly after this, he was named by the General Synod of the Church together with Drs. Livingston and Romeyn, a professor of theology. For thirty years he held this office, and trained for the ministry nearly one hundred young men.

By inheritance Dr. Froeligh was a strong, self-sufficient man. His education and life accentuated these traits. His intercourse during the impressionable years of youth with such masters as Schuneman, Romeyn and Livingston must have developed in him an aptitude to command. In scholarship he was in a narrow sense profound. His early possession of the seat of authority led to a certain dogmatism. He was pronounced hyper-Calvinist, and ever ready to defend his extreme views. The synods of the Church were in that day the great events of each year, not only for clergymen but laymen. In these Dr. Froeligh was ever the leading controversialist. Both tradition and records show that he was strenuous to harshness in manner, unyielding, and exacting in statement, and always ready to estrange a friend rather than bend in the least. Combined with these traits there was in him a vein of mysticism. He dreamed dreams and saw visions that were to him authoritative communications of the Most High. Naturally such a man gathered about him devoted and obedient followers, and at the same time offended and antagonized many. Religion and politics were then, far more than in our day, issues of intense personal moment to all thoughtful persons. Party spirit blazed fiercely in every community. In the memorable Presidential contest of 1800, when the Federalist party was defeated, Dr. Froeligh was an elector and voted for Jefferson. What this meant to most of the ministers and influential laymen of the Church, who were devoted to Hamilton, can be surmised.

As years passed his character did not soften, nor could he accept defeat gracefully. Gradually, new and younger leaders in the Church came to the front. Men like Milldoler, Brownlee, Broadhead, and Fonda, whom he would not treat as his equals, paid him less and less deference. But his chief antipathy was his neighbor of Paramus, once his own scholar, Dr. Wilhelm Eltinge. They were men much alike in character, who invariably stood on opposite sides of every question.

Now the churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh, while ruled by one Consistory, were far from friendly to each other. They were rich in property, having inherited thousands of acres of farm land, and their members were noted for their wealth. Even before Froeligh's day there was bitter rivalry between the two. Mr. Kuypers, Froeligh's colleague, was a gentle and infirm man, who, above all things, hated discord. He readily yielded to his energetic associate. As the years passed the friction between the communities and factions in each church grew. Questions as to the sale of property, the rebuilding of churches, assessments of costs,

and the like were constantly rising. On these friends parted and even families divided. At length four separate consistories and congregations were established, one for each minister in each place, but all in one corporation. During the earlier years of his settlement Dr. Froeligh sought to act the part of peacemaker. Not understanding the grounds for the fierce disputes, he diligently set himself to enforce agreement, and by the exercise of his masterful will partially succeeded.

In 1799 Mr. Kuypers died, and the question of his successor became a burning one. The dominie was, of course, intensely interested, and took a decided stand against a majority. During a summer storm a bolt of lightning split the tablet over the door of the largest church, on which was engraved "Endraacht maakt macht"—union makes strength. Taking this as a sign from heaven, Dr. Froeligh proclaimed in his sermon on the following Sunday, "It is our belief founded on what we have seen and know of this people that, according to the sign given on July 10, the Triune God has made them two. The fire of divine grace is on one side, and the fire of discord and rage is on the other." Even under such conditions the dominie was master of the situation, and held the reins tightly. He was sole minister of four rich churches, and by ecclesiastical law each meeting of the consistory was subject to his call. By the civil law he was president of the corporation, and no business could be transacted without his presence. At last, in 1800, the General Synod of the Church intervened, and by the exercise of its supreme authority placed Dr. J. V. C. Romeyn in Mr. Kuypers' stead. It also divided the old Classis of Hackensack into two, with Dr. Froeligh's two churches in that of Paramus, and Dr. Romeyn's in that of Bergen. Dr. Froeligh entered a solemn protest against this action, and began a course of systematic effort to undo the arrangement. For eighteen years the controversy continued. It is needless to particularize the phases of this unhappy church quarrel. At last, in 1818, the crisis came. Proceedings under church law were instituted against Dr. Froeligh on the question whether the ministry or spiritual consistory composed of the elders of a church, was the responsible party in the matter of receiving or dismissing members. The Classis of Paramus sided with Dr. Froeligh, the next higher court, the Particular Synod, sustained Dr. Romeyn, and then, in 1822, the General Synod, in perhaps the most memorable trial in her history, decided against Dr. Froeligh. Thereupon, he and the ministers and elders of nine churches, signed their names to a document declaring that they had formed themselves

into a separate body by the name and title of "The True Reformed Dutch Church in America."

Those who recall Mrs. Stowe's story, "The Minister's Wooing," need not be told of the great controversy in New England caused by the sermons of Dr. Hopkins of Newport. In the light of to-day, few if any in the ministry accept his theology because of its narrowness. But a hundred years ago men like Froeligh regarded Hopkins as a dangerous heretic, and sought to cast out of the church as Pelagians those who sided with him. So long as the dominie could rule the Classis of Paramus he was reasonably content, but when Dr. Eltinge and a majority of its members approved of the Hopkins position, the Dutch Church seemed without the pale. Doubtless his greatest sorrow was that the old leaders he most admired, like Dr. Livingston, refused to join in the controversy. The younger men who were shaping the missionary activities of the church, and planning the constitution that was adopted in 1832, ignored him. No wonder he became embittered. But he had a large following of sincere, earnest, though narrow men. They had been in their early years his students and he was still their oracle. So the schism became formidable. After taking this final step he made a proselyting tour among the churches in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. A score of these joined his new communion. As many more were completely disrupted, and soon ceased to exist. Side by side in fifty hitherto peaceful, united, and prosperous villages rival congregations began a bitter warfare. Accusations against the teaching character and morals of ministers and laymen were published. In the church courts notable trials were held. In some cases the peace of the State was broken, and the civil authorities invoked. Indeed, the actions at law caused by this secession in New York and New Jersey led to the establishment of principles as to the rights of members in church property that are to-day the basis of the ecclesiastical law in both States. Probably the most famous case was that of the Church of the English Neighborhood in New Jersey. It was argued before the Supreme Court by Messrs. Wood and Hornblower on one side, and Van Arsdale and Theodore Frelinghuysen on the other. Chief Justice Ewing delivered the opinion of the court. These five named leaders are probably the most prominent in the history of the New Jersey bar.

As I have gathered from many sources the facts herein set forth, the most interesting and impressive feature of the controversy is the sane and dignified manner with which the church met the issue. Every lawful

means was adopted to first reunite and then recover the seceding churches, and, so far as the records show, this was ever in the spirit of the Christian rule of kindness. When these efforts failed all loyal members were urged to live in charity with their neighbors.

Until 1850 the "True Reformed Dutch Church" grew in strength. It concentrated all its powers on the one aim of proselyting adherents from the mother Church. Wherever possible it effected discord in congregations and families. It took no part in the missionary or philanthropic movements of the day. Its members gloried in being a "peculiar people," whose "good works" consisted in nursing pride and standing apart from all others.

I have hardly touched on the pathetic side of this history. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Dutch Reformed Church in America stood in a unique position. In the center of the country she was the oldest Protestant communion, and relatively the strongest. More nearly than any other her policy coincided with that of the United States. In temper and trend she was highly irenic. Her liturgy and confessions were simply Christian; and her genius made her one with true Christians of every name. No wonder that the hopes of a great multitude, both within and without her communion, for a homogeneous body that should do away with the multitude of ecclesiastical divisions centered in her. It was largely due to the schism Dr. Froeligh led that these hopes were shattered. The natural growth of the Church was checked at the most important period of the country's development. Beginning at the close of the Revolution, wise and devoted leaders had planted a large number of Dutch churches on the then frontiers; these were everywhere prospering. In Central and Western New York, in Upper Canada, in West New Jersey, and Eastern Pennsylvania new congregations were constantly being organized. Then came the disruption. Fully two-thirds of these newer churches were broken up. In North Jersey, and Rockland County, New York, an unwholesome emigration of embittered people began. Families were broken up, neighbors estranged, and the material as well as moral growth of the section was checked.

Possibly other communities as well as churches gained large accessions through this secession. But people of this description are too selfish and disputatious to foster the peace of any neighborhood. It is well that their children should ignore and forget the ways of their fathers.

Now all that is left of the True Dutch Church are some ten dying

congregations. Each year or so one of these is disrupted. Civil and sometimes criminal actions at law follow, and the costs of the proceedings absorb the remainders of the property. But the remnant still cling to their name and glory in their history; for they still invoke the shades of Doctor Solomon Froeligh.

*Evening Post*, N. Y.

JOSEPH R. DURYEE.

[Dominie Freligh was an ardent patriot, as is shown by the letter herewith, which presents an odd mixture of piety, patriotism and butter.

The original is in the possession of Mr. William Nelson, Secretary of the N. J. Historical Society, to whom we are indebted for permission to reproduce it.

The reference in its closing lines to "ladies' head-dress" is easily understood by a glance at the *Mischianza coiffure* of the period, as sketched by Major André—who at the date of this letter had been dead less than four months.—ED.]

N. Millstone (N. J.) Feb<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup> 1781

Rev<sup>d</sup>. & very Dear Sir

I Acknowledge herewith the Receipt of Yours by Mr. Braket. It Affords me Singular Pleasure that a Protecting Providence has hitherto favoured you in your Present Precarious Situation—*Hackinsack* is often to me a Subject of Admiration; a Village Contiguous to the Enimies Lines & Accessible from all Quarters Abounding with Whigs, warmly attached to their Country's Interest, & a Larger Number according to its Dimensions than Perhaps any town in the State Could produce, to be Preserved, is indeed a Striking Instance of Divine Protection and Seems to indicate, that Notwithstanding your Complaint of religious Defection there is Still a Remnant—As far as I am Capable I shall take pleasure in Satisfying Your Curiosity Respecting the State of religion here—I Can Assure You Sir it wears a Pleasing Aspect; Several Make Profession of their faith & Confidence in Christ & Corroborate it with a Corresponding Practice, Several have been Awakened Since my last & Some who had degenerated from their former Exemplary piety, Seem to revive, & much regret their Backsliding: The Exercises of one in particular are very remarkable; a man formerly of a most Abandoned Profligate life; now Under the Severest Conviction. Discourses on their own Experiences; Efforts to Obtain knowledge of the Sacred truths, & family Devotion Prevails much Among them, and as Little Enthusiasm I think as I ever knew at a Similar Juncture—I much approve of Your Observation *that the End of a thing is better than its beginning* and when I add to this the Numerous Instances of Dfection, I cannot fear that there will be a

*Lot's wife* among them however I fondly hope the Whole Will not proove to be Wild-fire. Such is their taste for the Gospel, that they Would exact from me more Preaching than is Consistent in itself or my Circumstances of body & mind Would Admit of —

I am Pleased with the mode in which the late Mutiny in the the Jersey Line was Suppressed & Could Wish the Same Steps had been taken with the Pensylvanians—The Soldiers in Our Army have Doubtless many Causes of Complaint, but a spirit of insurrection Should never be indulged in an Army, They Marched thro this place in remarkable good Order; The fate of *Sir Harry's* Wretched Emisaries Which, I presume you have heard Prooves Your Conjecture Respecting the Enemy's Joy on the Occasion to have been Judicious—Recruiting Business we hear goes on in Pennsylvania With Unexpected Success—If Mr Bracket tarrys with us till Thursday I shall Probably have it in my Power to Send you The paper;

I had Engaged a Quantity of butter, but from the bad Prospect of any Conveyance this winter I declined, should a proper Conveyance Occur I shall Endeavour to Procure Some for you: The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. *Leydt* is recovered from his illness that had nearly Prooved the Cause of his Death, & is hammering away at the Ladies' headdress with as much Vehemence As ever—Mr. Hardenbergh it is reported will move in the Spring:

I have the honour to be With Sincere

Respect & Esteem

Your Fellowlabourer in C

& Truly humble Servt

SOLOMON FRELIGH

(Addressed:)

The Revd Mr D: Romeyn

fayd Mr. Bracket }  
at Hackinsack. }

## A DAY IN THE GREAT DISMAL SWAMP

[The stories and legends associated with the Swamp are many. The most authentic and pathetic of all, and the one which Thomas Moore has made the theme of a poem, is to this effect: a young man who lost his mind on the death of the girl he loved, disappeared, and was never heard from. As he had frequently said, in his delirium, that she was not dead, but gone in a canoe to the Swamp, it is supposed that he wandered there in search of her, and died from exposure.

CHARLES LANMAN, 1847.]

And all night long, by her fire-fly lamp  
She paddles her light canoe.—MOORE.

**I**T seemed as if we had hardly been asleep an hour when a knock resounded on our door, and a voice from the outside said: "Six o'clock, ladies; breakfast will be ready in fifteen minutes, and the carriage will be here at half-past six."

With half-shut eyes we made our toilet, and we were even too sleepy to enjoy the well-cooked breakfast which was spread for us in the dining-room of the little Suffolk inn where we had taken lodging for the night on our arrival by train from Norfolk.

We were not thoroughly awake and interested in the adventure we were about to undertake, until we found ourselves with guide books and lunch box on the back seat of a springless carriage, the front seat of which was occupied by a fat negro, with a good-natured grin, who answered to the name of "Moses." We had a three-mile drive before us to the entrance of the Swamp, where we were to meet our guide and take the boat.

The first stage of our journey lay through the main street of a sleepy little Virginia town. The sun had not yet dried the dewdrops, and the old white, pillared houses on either side of the highway, where the great elms overlapped their branches, were still wrapped in the quiet of the early morning. Farther along the street, when we reached the shops, there were more signs of life. Men, who looked like planters of antebellum days, were taking possession of the chairs which occupied the sidewalk and the porch of a small hotel. Negroes and mules and great bunches



of bananas were seen on every hand. But we soon left all these behind and were out in the open country. Level, green fields lay on either side of us. It was a lonely road, in spite of the greenness and the sunshine round about us. Occasionally we passed a weather-beaten negro cabin, and once we saw, looming in the distance, a white plantation mansion, stately still, in spite of years of neglect.

It seemed to us that this monotonous road might run on indefinitely, when, suddenly, Moses halted his horses, without apparent cause.

"He'ah we is, I reckon, missus," said he.

"It can't be," returned my traveling companion. "I see nothing like a swamp." And then we both of us looked closely at the only object in the landscape—a clump of willow bushes, seeming to cover the beginning of a brook that led nowhere in particular.

"Yes'm, he'ah we be su'ah," reiterated Moses. "An' he'ah's Massa Alphonso now," and he pointed to a light-haired, lank Virginian, who, at that moment, appeared from behind the bushes, and stood leaning on an oar.

The man combined the stateliness of a courtier with the roughness of a hunter, and the grace of his attitude and his blonde beauty led the Spinster to christen him "The Lohengrin of the Swamp."

The object of this unspoken christening now came forward and introduced himself as our guide. "An' now, I reckon we might as well be a-startin', ladies," said he. "Wait, ma'am, I'll help you down the bank. It's mighty steep right here, but there wasn't no other place nigh so good for hitchin' the boat. You, Mose, you be back to-night at six o'clock sharp for the ladies. D'ye understand?"

"Yes, sah', yes, sah', su'ah," and Moses clattered away.

Once settled in the boat, the scene changed. We seemed to have entered the beginning of an indefinitely long arbor, covered with grapevines. Of course, there were, in reality, no grapevines, but the willows and the short, bushy trees which completely overhung the four-foot wide channel in which our boat rode made the illusion perfect.

"This is beautiful," said the Spinster, as she watched the sunshine glinting through the pale-green leaves, still dew-covered, and falling in bright reflections on the face of the dark water beneath.

"It's fine!" I echoed; "but when do we enter the swamp, guide?"

"We're in the swamp now, ma'am. It'll be just like this for ten miles, and then we'll come to the lake."

"Why—why," I almost stammered in my amazement, "I thought the swamp was dark and gloomy, with moss hanging from tall, mournful pine trees, and not a sound to be heard in the wilderness. If it's like this, with bird-calls and sunshine and bright green leaves, why do they call it 'dismal'?"

Alphonso smiled at my eagerness. "There's more to it than shows just at first, ma'am," he answered. "There are more sad stories about this swamp than all the sunshine can make bright. In the first place this channel we're riding in right now was dug by chain-gangs of slaves. They say the poor creatures died here in heaps from swamp fever. But that didn't make any difference to their owners. They was made to dig right into the heart of the swamp to get at the juniper trees. You see they are very valuable—the most valuable wood, I guess, that grows; and they are only to be found here in this swamp. I'll show you some of them when we come to them. They are tall and slim and straight. No, we shan't get to any until we are a good bit farther along. I told you the swamp was all alike, but I didn't mean that exactly. There's a good bit of difference, the deeper in we get, though you might not notice the difference unless I pointed it out. The trees will be larger and taller, and the bird-calls will be different—more wild, like, and there'll be owls and herons to be seen, and maybe a stork or two. I hope on account o' you ladies we shan't meet no bears, but you see I've brought my gun along. There's always a chance."

I was more interested in his story of the slave gangs than in the bears. "Do you actually mean," I asked, "that in former times slaves dug this channel ten miles long to Lake Drummond?"

"Yes, ma'am, that's an actual fact; but they got some advantages from it, too, for while they was digging they got to know the swamp pretty well, and they discovered there was islands hidden away in the center of the swamp, though miles distant from this channel. The slaves kept their discovery to themselves, and later on fugitive slaves made use of it. If they could only reach these islands they were safe from their pursuers, and it's said that children and even grandchildren of the first runaways were born, and lived, and died on these islands."

"I don't see what they had to eat," suggested the prosaic Spinster.

"You don't understand, ma'am. These islands are just as dry and nice as any land about here, and the swamp soil is mighty rich, so of course they could just grow anything they had a mind to. Of course they were helped also by friendly slaves on the plantations 'round here, and then they had their cattle and honey to help out."

"Cattle and honey!" exclaimed the Spinster.

"Yes, ma'am; and they're here yet. I get all the honey maw and I want to eat from the hives of wild bees here, and most of my beef comes from here, too. Besides, many a quarter I've sold. There's no better eatin' than the swamp cattle. But a cur'us thing about 'em is that their horns is polished just like ivory. It comes from pickin' up their livin' in the swamp and brushin' constant against tree trunks and reeds and the like."

"I don't see how they came here in the first place, and I don't see what they live on in the second place," continued the Spinster, glancing at the edges of the swamp on either side of our narrow channel, which seemingly consisted only of masses of dead leaves, dank moss, and reeds.

"Oh, I suppose they was tame cattle in the first place that strayed in here an' then stayed an' multiplied just as the slaves did. An' as for eatin', you ain't seen the swamp grass, ma'am; it's mighty rich."

"I should think it would be unhealthy here," said I. "I don't see how those fugitive slaves flourished to the third generation."

"Well, no; that's the queer part of it. It ain't unhealthy. Those niggers who dug this ditch died of fever, but the swamp itself ain't unhealthy. On the contrary, the medical folks say it's a good place for consumptives, and that this swamp water you see here, just as brown as coffee, is good for 'em to drink. There's been some talk of puttin' up a hotel on the shore of Lake Drummond for a health resort, and cuttin' a channel wide enough for a steamboat to run regular, but I hope they won't get to it in my time. I can't hope that the Swamp'll last much longer," he continued, with a sigh. "You see how black and rich the ground is, and if it was drained and cleared it would be mighty productive. Some capitalists are already talking of doing that and dividing it off into farms."

This was a plan that pleased the Spinster, and she kept our guide talk-

ing on this and kindred topics until the sun, creeping on, stood directly overhead, and it was noon, and we had reached the limit of our journey.

We forgot our prosaic talk of so short a time before when we stood on the shores of Lake Drummond. There lay the magic lake, boldly gray, even in brightest sunshine. Waves which were born from the winds of the wilderness lapped the pebbles at our feet. Although the sun shone warm upon us, it could not overcome the feeling of awe-struck loneliness.

"Do you notice," said my companion softly, "that even the bird-calls of the swamp have ceased?"

I nodded without speaking. It seemed unfitting to break by words the ghostlike silence that brooded over this water so far from the life and ways of men.

A moment later the guide joined us and brought us down from this high plane by his unconcerned talk.

"Yes," he said, "this lake's just on the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia. We came through ten miles of Virginia swamp this morning to get to it, and we'd have to pole through ten miles of North Carolina swamp if we tried to get out through the other side across the lake there."

"What sources feed Lake Drummond?" asked the Spinster, shaking herself free from the abstraction that had preceded Alphonso's entrance upon the scene.

"Nobody knows," returned the guide, shaking his head. "Nobody knows where it comes from nor where it goes. The black folks around here say that the lake belongs to the devil and the scientific people say it's of volcanic origin. Perhaps that amounts to the same thing." Then he changed the subject by briskly demanding if we were ready for lunch.

We at our luncheon in the rough wooden house, which, with its shake-down beds and pine board tables, served as quarters for the hunters and scientists, sometimes for weeks at a time. Perhaps its limited accommodations satisfied them. We should not have been contented.

We were not sorry to find ourselves once more in our comfortable boat and started on our homeward journey.

"I reckon we don't get any bears this trip," remarked Alphonso, after we had progressed a considerable distance.

"Do you often get them?" asked the Spinster.

"Sure, though it's kind o' between seasons for them now. They ain't out lookin' after berries or honey. I might say that I bag 'em mighty frequent," he continued. "That is, when I'm hunting by myself. When I'm guidin' other folks they do more missin' than hittin', I'm bound to say," he added with a laugh.

We had heard the evening before that Alphonso was considered the best shot in Nansemond County, so that we did not doubt his personal prowess, but the humorous twinkle in his eye encouraged us to ask for stories of the misadventures of other people, and we heard various serio-comic tales of grave professors who could draw a trigger and yet miss a bear within six feet of them, or let a bear-cub crawl away unhurt, not from a sense of pity, but from absent-mindedness.

"But I don't mind so much their missin' of the game," said Alphonso, "as I do their wanderin' off by themselves an' gettin' lost in this 'ere swamp. It takes me such a pile o' walkin' before I can round 'em up again. I remember once I was fool enough to let a party of three go off huntin' by themselves. It took me two days before I found 'em again, an' I can tell you I was gettin' mighty anxious. My! didn't they enjoy the wild-cow beefsteak I cooked for 'em that night!"

As he spun his yarns, we hoped to beguile Alphonso into a more personal strain and get him to tell about his own life and his mother to whom he had more than once alluded. Although evidently unwilling to do so, he did tell us enough of his life so that we could piece together his story and account for his opposing characteristics. It seemed that his mother had been an heiress and a belle in the days before the war. She had married a colonel who was killed in one of the first battles, and her only child, Alphonso, had at the age of eleven been thrust out into the world to gain a living for himself and his mother. This he had succeeded in doing, but there had been no time for education—that is, for book-knowledge. Chivalry of manner he had learned from his lady-mother. The wiles of Cupid he had likewise shunned. As he told us, he was an "old bach," and live alone with "maw," and reckoned he'd continue so to do, When we tried to gather more details of his life, he showed himself shy,

as well as modest, and parried our most skillful questions. His last evasion led to an incident which proved much to our advantage.

"Look-a-there," he cried, not answering the Spinster's last quiz. "Do you see that owl, ma'am, perched on that dead branch in the top of that pine tree? He's the largest I've seen this year. Would you like him? He'd make a mighty nice specimen in case you're collectin'."

The Spinster's eye and mine met in consultation. The decision was unanimous, and an instant later the guide's unerring rifle rang out and the owl was fluttering in the water dead. He was picked up and his plumage smoothed, and he was carefully bestowed under one of the boat seats. The small remaining portion of our journey was given up to talk about our new possession and how he should ultimately be disposed of, and in this manner our day with Alphonso, "the Lohengrin of the Swamp," drew to a close. We were met at the appointed time and place by fat Moses with the springless carriage. Alphonso bade us a courteous adieu, again leaning against his oar in the attitude of the morning.

Moses drove us back to the station at a rapid pace, chuckling the while at our owl which lay on the seat beside him and which he said "looked just like de debbil." We arrived at the station in time to procure a box for our owl, and then boarding the train arrived safely in Norfolk that night.

LOUISE E. CATLIN.

*Evening Post, N. Y.*



## MISCELLANEA OF AMERICAN HISTORY:

### A REFERENCE LIST

**T**HE short list following is partly supplemental to *Larned's Literature of American History*; its regular A. L. A. continuations; the various cumulative indexes to periodicals and Miss Kroeger's Guide to reference books (*q. v.*). This little collection, which may be extended, is intended merely to present some clues to additional means of historical research.

#### KEY:—

- 010 Bibliography (general).
- 017 Catalogs (sale).
- 580 Botany (ancient America).
- 913 Antiquities.
- 920 Biography.
- 929 Genealogy.
- 973 History (U. S.).

#### 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY (general).

**Cole, George Watson.** Compiling a bibliography. Practical hints with illustrative examples concerning the collection, recording and arrangement of bibliographical materials, by George Watson Cole. An address delivered before the Pratt Institute School of Library Training, March 15, 1901; reprinted, with additions, from the *Library Journal* [26:791, 859]; New York, The Library Journal, 1902. 21 pp. 23½x19 cm. ["Two hundred and fifty copies printed for private distribution."]

**Cole, George Watson.** American bibliography, general and local (*In the Library Journal*, 19, No. 1 [Jan., 1904]:—5-9.)

#### 017 CATALOGS (sale).

**Bibliotheca Americana.** Being a collection of books . . . for sale by George Harding, 64, Gt. Russel St., Bloomsbury, London, W. C., England. New series, No. 112 (1905). 36 pp.

**Edwards's** American catalogue. Parts 1-3 (1904-1905). *Books for sale by* Francis Edwards, 83, High Street, Marylebone, London, W., England. *Partially annotated.*

*Contents:* Part 1 (Oct., 1904). The American continent; voyages of discovery, general histories, collections, atlases, and maps (pp. 1-35); natural history; geology, botany, zoölogy (pp. 36-53); North American Indians and prehistoric remains of man in North America (pp. 54-69); languages of North American Indians (pp. 70-72). Part 2 (1904-1905?) *relates to* Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland, Alaska and Yukon territory. Part 3 (June, 1905), The United States; Colonial period 1606-1764 (pp. 137-169); Revolution, 1765-83 (pp. 170-202); Constitution, 1784-1811 (pp. 203-216); War of 1812 (pp. 217-221); Settling of Great West, 1816-60 (pp. 222-240); Civil War, 1860-65 (pp. 241-248); Reconstruction, 1866-*date* (pp. 249-254); Texas (pp. 255-256).

**Gray's** international bulletin. *Books for sale by* Henry Gray, Goldsmith's Estate, East Acton, London, W., England. *Monthly*, Foreign series, No. 1 (1904-5?) pp. 32. *Contents:* Americana and Coloniana.

#### 580 BOTANY (ancient America).

**Cook, O. F.** Food plants of ancient America. (*In* annual report of the . . . Smithsonian Institution . . . for the year ending June 30, 1903, Washington: Government printing office, 1904; *see* pp. 481-497.)

"Revision of article on The American Origin of Agriculture, in *Popular Science Monthly*, October, 1902." Sets forth some inferences to be drawn from evidences of ancient trans-Pacific communication; distribution of food-plants, etc.

#### 913 ANTIQUITIES

**Butterworth, Hezekiah, ed.** The Mysterious Races. (*See his* Young Folks' History of America, chap. 1, 13-28, Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., 1881, *illustrated.*)

**Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.** List and prices of publications issued by Field Columbian Museum, Chicago, U. S. A. [1904.] 12<sup>o</sup>. 9 pp.

*See* serial Nos. 8, 16, 23, 28, relating to archæology of Mexico, Peru and Yucatan.

**Hewett, Edgar L.** Antiquities of the southwest and their preservation. By Edgar L. Hewett [of the] National Museum, Washington. (*In* THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, . . . New York, 1, No. 5 [May, 1905]: 291-300.)



**Holmes, W. H.** Report . . . on the Congress of Americanists, held at Stuttgart, Germany, Aug. 18-23, 1904. (*In Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, quarterly issue*, vol. 47, No. 1558, pp. 391-395.)

Contains programme of the congress, with titles of addresses; also a list of publications, "a set of 75 bound volumes relating mainly to American Archæology and Ethnology, published by the Smithsonian Institution and its two bureaus—the National Museum and the Bureau of American Ethnology."

**McAdam, William.** Records of ancient races in the Mississippi Valley; being an account of some of the pictographs, sculptured hieroglyphs, symbolic devices, emblems and traditions of the prehistoric races of America, with some suggestions as to their origin. With cuts and views illustrating over three hundred objects and symbolic devices. St. Louis: C. R. Barnes Publishing Co., 1887. 120 pp., 8vo.

Based on much personal research by the author, who died about April 16, 1895, on which date the *Alton* (Illinois) *Daily Republican* printed a two-column obituary notice, he having been a resident of that city.

The "Old Mill" at Newport: A new study of an old puzzle. *Scribner's Monthly*, 17, No. 5 (March, 1879): 632-641.

Makes some architectural comparisons of the tower with other similar ancient structures, in an attempt thus to solve the problem of the former's origin.

**Prescott, William H.** Origin of the Mexican civilization—analogy with the Old World. (*See his Conquest of Mexico*, 3, appendix, part 1: 309-352, Philadelphia: David McKay, 1892. ['Preliminary notice,' pp. 309-310].)

"The civilization of Anahuac was, in some degree, influenced by that of Eastern Asia; . . . the discrepancies are such as to carry back the communication to a very remote period," *extract*, p. 352. Accompanied by very extensive notes and citations of authorities.

**Thomas, Cyrus.** Central American hieroglyphic writing. (*In annual report of the . . . Smithsonian Institution . . . for the year ending June 30, 1903*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904; *see pp. 705-721, illustrated.*)

**U. S. Smithsonian Institution.** Classified list of Smithsonian publications, available for distribution, April, 1904. Washington: published by the Institution, 1904. (No. 1461.) 29 pp. 8°. *See pp. 6-8, Archæology.*

- U. S.** *Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology.* List of publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, with index to authors and titles. Extract from the twentieth annual report of the Bureau. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903. 26 pp. [paged cxcix-ccxxiv], 29½ cm.

## 920 BIOGRAPHY.

- Twelve contemporary estimates of Washington. (*In Self Culture*, 2, No. 6 [March, 1896]: 851-857.)  
Accounts quoted (presumably) *verbatim*.

- Elliott, Agnes M.** *Comp.* Contemporary biography. References to books and magazine articles on prominent men and women of the time. Compiled by Agnes M. Elliott. [Pittsburgh]: Carnegie Library, 1903, pp. 171, 23 cm.

## 929 GENEALOGY.

- Allaben, Frank.** Concerning genealogies; being suggestions of value for all interested in family history. New York: The Grafton Press, 1904 (?) 12mo. 75 cts. *Not examined*.

- American** genealogies or family histories, and other historical works, for sale by Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y. 48 pp. 12½ cm.  
Contains a large number of surnames arranged alphabetically, with date, number of pages and price of publication.

- Genealogical**, heraldic and historical publications of the Grafton Press. New York: 1905. 16 pp.

- Gray's** International Bulletin. *Books for sale by* Henry Gray, Goldsmith's Estate, East Acton, London, W., England. *Monthly*, No. 242 (1904-5?); pp. 16. *Contents*: Family history, British and foreign.  
*Same.* Subject series, No. 1 (1904-5?); pp. 32. *Contents*: Family history and other personalia.  
Partly annotated, and arranged in alphabetical order by surnames, with some cross references.

- McPike, Eugene Fairfield.** Genealogy in America. (*Notes and Queries*, London, tenth series, 2:63.) [Relates to the attitude of Washington, Adams, Franklin, Garfield and Oliver Wendell Holmes toward genealogical research. Authorities cited.]

## 973 HISTORY (U. S.).

**Clark, A. Howard.** List of publications of the American Historical Association, 1885-1902, and the American Society of Church History, 1888-1897. Contents of *American Historical Review*, 1895-1902, by A. Howard Clark, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903, p. 65, *paged* 575-639.

Reprinted from the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902, vol. 1, pp. 575-639. Gives titles of all articles forming contents of each publication, and concludes with an excellent index.

[**Deahler, C. D.**] A Glimpse of "Seventy-six." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 49, No. 290 (July, 1874): 230-245.

An interesting account by one who was personally acquainted with many survivors of the American Revolution. Accompanied by illustrations of colonial furniture.

**Finney, B. A.** Public libraries and local history. (*Public Libraries*, 10, No. 1 [Jan., 1905]: 1-6.) [Read before the Ann Arbor Library Club, March 12, 1903.] *Same*. Also issued separately.

**Guest, Captain Moses.** 1755-1828. Poems on several occasions. To which are annexed extracts from a journal kept by the author while he followed the sea, and during a journey from New Brunswick, in New Jersey, to Montreal and Quebec. *Ed.* 2. Cincinnati: Looker & Reynolds, 1824. 160 pp., 12<sup>o</sup> in half sheets.

Most of these poems were written during the American Revolution. Captain Guest belonged to the New Jersey militia and captured Lt.-Col. J. G. Simcoe, of the Queen's Rangers, Oct. 26, 1779. This incident is described in his journal, which, however, begins 16 March, 1784. He removed to Cincinnati in 1817.

[**McLaughlin, Andrew C.**] [Descriptions of work undertaken by the Bureau of Historical Research, established by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.] (*Am. Hist. Review*, 9, No. 3 [April, 1904]: 635-636; *caption* Notes and News: America.)

**McLaughlin, Andrew C.** Historical research. (*In* Carnegie Institution of Washington, Year book, No. 3 [1904], pp. 65-67.)

Describes the work and plans of the Bureau of Historical Research, established by the Carnegie Institution; includes mention of its (com-

pleted) Guide to the Archives of the Government of the U. S., at Washington; of preliminary report by Prof. Chas. M. Andrews of Bryn Mawr, on the character, extent and location (in British archives) of material for the study of American history; of a bibliography of current (1903) writings on American history, etc. As the director is the editor of the *American Historical Review*, some of the material collected by the Bureau appears in that periodical.

[Putnam, Herbert.] Publication of historical material by the Government. (*In his report of the librarian of Congress for the . . . year ending June 30, 1904; pp. 66-70; 171-181.*)

"The library seems in a peculiarly favorable position to publish such of the MSS. in its possession as seem to deserve publication. It will begin with those that most obviously require it. The first of these is the Journals of the Continental Congress, of which admittedly no one of the three existing editions is either complete or accurate." *Extract*, p. 69. Other important historical collections mentioned.

**Richardson, Ernest Cushing, and Morse, Anson Ely.** Writings on American history, 1902. An attempt at an exhaustive bibliography of books and articles on United States history, published during the year 1902, and some memoranda on other portions of America. Princeton, N. J.: The Library Book Store, 1904. P. xxi+294.

A similar collection for 1903 has been undertaken by the Bureau of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

**Tarbell, Ida M.** The Story of the Declaration of Independence. (*In McClure's Magazine*, 17, [July, 1901]: 223-235.)

"Illustrated with portraits and autographs of the signers."

EUGENE FAIRFIELD MCPIKE.

CHICAGO.

## EDITORIAL

Although the year now nearly ended has been one of extreme labor on the part of the Editor, he feels a reasonable degree of pride in that his efforts to produce a magazine worthy of being known as the successor of Mrs. Lamb's *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, have been recognized as successful, by many of his subscribers. That the venture could be financially profitable the first year, was not expected—yet the deficiency is not large, and may even yet be extinguished by the receipt of a comparatively small number of subscriptions before the New Year is upon us.

It is not the Editor's custom to make unlimited promises for a coming year—he much prefers to let the performance of 1905 stand as a fair sample of what may be expected in 1906, and promises only to improve on it if he can. It is so obvious that the standard of a periodical depends on the growth of its subscription list, that he alludes to it only to emphasize the fact that an historical periodical is particularly so dependent, as advertising receipts from such an one can never be large—advertisers as a rule seeking only those of great circulation. Hence the need that all who claim to be interested in our Nation's history should prove that interest by subscribing to this, the only monthly devoted to the subject and not confining itself to any one section of the United States.

Its value can also be enhanced by the receipt of queries or historical items appropriate to its columns—and the Editor wishes such whether from subscribers or those who may read it only in our public libraries.

To those who have aided him by contributing MSS. during the year, he returns his warmest thanks, appreciating fully that only by such aid has it been possible to successfully conduct the publication.

The irregularity in publishing the monthly parts, has been unavoidable—but subscribers may rest assured that all possible will be done to reduce this to a minimum. It has been as much of an annoyance to the Editor as to his subscribers, but may be occasionally inevitable in the absence of the usual "quantity of matter awaiting publication," which more fortunate editors have been known to mention to aspirants for literary fame.

## MINOR TOPICS

### THE FATE OF THE PIGEONS

[The description of the vast flocks of the wild pigeons (*Ectopistes migratoria*), given in Mr. Ryman's article in the October MAGAZINE, makes the following article, from a recent number of *Forest and Stream*, of timely interest. The Editor remembers that in 1892, when he desired to give a game dinner in New York, he was unable to add these birds to his list, although making application to dealers as far west as Minneapolis. The description of a flight of pigeons, given by Audubon and Wilson in their works, is of remarkable value, as showing the great change wrought in a comparatively short period of time by the increase of population in the former haunts of these valuable birds.—ED.]

**B**EING old enough at the time to fully appreciate the grand sight of the myriads of wild pigeons as they moved back and forth through the Mississippi valley in the late seventies, it did not occur to the writer when they suddenly disappeared that it meant they had done so for all time.

As the years pass and no satisfactory explanation has been advanced, the subject fairly nettles the thoughtful lover of nature. Superficial humane zealots as usual credit the trapshooters with wanton slaughter, which is positively silly when it is remembered that a single flock, one of a hundred that passed in a day, would supply pigeons for trapshooting for several years. That disease exterminated them is not impossible, and is by far more reasonable than the trap or net explanation, twenty-five or more years of guessing having failed to locate or account for the birds.

The suggestion here offered (for what it is worth), which was brought about by a dream, may, if followed up, give a clew to the whereabouts or fate of the birds which sportsmen of the last generation will ever remember as the most graceful and skillful flyers known. The dream above mentioned need not be given in detail, nor could it be at this time; however, the writer dreamed of a pow-wow with a venerable Indian who, when asked what had become of the pigeons, stated, to quote him literally (as dreamed), that "Pigeon heap d——n fool, fly in big water [meaning the Gulf of Mexico], no come back."

I am without any element of superstition, but this dream and Indian

affirmation have haunted me for months. I have just returned from the Gulf coast, where, strange as it may seem, the dream has in a measure been confirmed as follows:

Having waded through a slough several times in quest of jack snipe, which were there in large numbers, and having killed and bagged many, I came to an inviting log near the edge of the swamp, which made a good resting place for a tired shooter. While seated there making up my mind whether I should quit shooting or go back after the snipe again, an old negro driving an antiquated mule attached to a creaking, ramshackle wagon with dished wheels, drove up. A few pieces of webbing, some chains for traces, and a bridle and reins of common clothesline made a perfectly harmonious outfit.

"Whoa, Jake!" commanded the old man as he rolled up to my resting place. "Good mo'nin', sah. You all been spo'tin' some dis mo'nin'."

I assured him I had bagged a lot of jacks.

"I dun hear pow'ful lots o' gun firin' as I come along back."

His aged and gray head was set with bright eyes, and his old face beamed with good nature. I decided to do some of the questioning, so I started in with an inquiry as to whether Jake, who stood within reach of my seat on the log, had been or was a kicker. His owner assured me he was gentle and "never was a fool mule."

"How long have you lived here, uncle?" I inquired.

"I don't live here; I lives up dis road 'bout fo' miles."

"Yes, but how long have you lived in Texas, or near the Gulf?" I asked.

"Good Lo'd! I dun always been here," and, as if to emphasize the statement, his old face wrinkled more than usual.

"Do you remember the pigeons, years ago?" I asked.

"I shore does, sah."

"What became of them?" I asked, recalling the dream.

"Whar you all come from to ast dis nigger such fool things! Of cou'se I knows."

"Well, I don't," I remarked; "but would like to very much."

"You never dun heard of de black fog and the 'norther' on dis beach 'bout twenty-five years ago?"

"I never have; but what has that to do with it?"

"Beg your pa'don, sah, I guess you-all ain't jokin'?"

I assured him I was not, and he began the story of the disappearance of the pigeons something like this:

"When me and Tom Clay was out huntin' 'coons and bob cats one day, de fog came so thick it was most pitch dark in dis woods, and we was 'fraid to go to the island where Mars Judge Tobin lived, and we was workin', and jes had to stay right dar in dat timber fo' days and fo' nights—coze we shore would git lost if we rowed de boat in dat fog. Well, de second mo'nin' along come de 'norther' an' dun blowed dis timber most to pieces, but not de fog. By an' bye I hear a sound, I dun heard befo', pigeons was a-flyin' over, and de sound kep' up all dat day till mos' dark. Den dey come fallin' thro' de trees around us with their wings busted, and heads busted, like they was plum crazy; an' when dey seen our fire dey fluttered into it and put it clean out. Yas, sah, dat's God's truf, I dun tole you all. Next mo'nin' all dat could fly started off to'd the ocean, an' the noise of more a-comin' kep' up all day till mos' night. Dat noise was shore mighty bad, an' we dun been 'bout scared to death when de fog lifted, an' we started fo' home in de boat. Den we was scared agin, fo' de bay was mos' covered with dead pigeons an' blood an' feathers, an' mos' every kind of a fish was dar jes helpin' hisself, an' so thick we could jes row de boat. We dun busted right into a nest of sharks feedin' on pigeons, an' one throwed his tail so hard he knocked de oar out of de boat mos' ten feet. Next mo'nin' all the pigeons was dun gone, excep' on de beach was some washed up, an' a pow'ful lot of dead fish, little ones' s'pose got killed in de rush for pigeons. I neber did see a big flock since, an' ain't seen nary one fo' yeahs now."

"Then you think they perished in the Gulf?" I asked.

"I dun seen um, I knows I know it!" he replied.

Will some kind reader help me in this matter and interview some old sea dog who may have met the unfortunate birds further out to sea, and verify this negro's story, and the characteristic statement that "pigeon heap fool, fly in big water, and no come back," of the visionary Indian?



## INDIAN LEGENDS: III.

### THE LONE BUFFALO

**A**MONG the legends which the traveler frequently hears, while crossing the prairies of the Far West, I remember one which accounts in a most romantic manner for the origin of thunder. A summer-storm was sweeping over the land, and I had sought a temporary shelter in the lodge of a Sioux or Dacotah Indian on the banks of the St. Peter's River. Vividly flashed the lightning, and an occasional peal of thunder echoed through the firmament. While the storm continued my host and his family paid but little attention to my comfort, for they were all evidently stricken with terror. I endeavored to quell their fears, and for that purpose asked them a variety of questions respecting their people, but they only replied by repeating, in a dismal tone the name of the *Lone Buffalo*. My curiosity was of course excited, and it may readily be imagined that I did not resume my journey without obtaining an explanation of the mystic words; and from him who first uttered them in the Sioux lodge I subsequently obtained the following legend:

There was a chief of the Sioux nation whose name was the Master Bear. He was famous as a prophet and hunter, and was a particular favorite with the Master of Life. In an evil hour he partook of the white man's fire-water, and in a fighting broil unfortunately took the life of a brother chief. According to ancient custom blood was demanded for blood, and when next the Master Bear went forth to hunt, he was waylaid, shot through the heart with an arrow, and his body deposited in front of his widow's lodge. Bitterly did the woman bewail her misfortune, now mutilating her body in the most heroic manner, and anon narrating to her only son, a mere infant, the prominent events of her husband's life. Night came, and with her child lashed upon her back, the woman erected a scaffold on the margin of a neighboring stream, and with none to lend her a helping hand, enveloped the corpse in her more valuable robes, and fastened it upon the scaffold. She completed her task just as the day was breaking, when she returned to the lodge, and shutting herself therein, spent the three following days without tasting food.

During her retirement the widow had a dream in which she was visited by the Master of Life. He endeavored to console her in her sorrow, and for the reason that he had loved her husband, promised to make her son a more famous warrior and medicine man than his father had been. And what was more remarkable, this prophecy was to be realized within the period of a few weeks. She told her story in the village, and was laughed at for her credulity.

On the following day, when the village boys were throwing the ball upon the plain, a noble youth suddenly made his appearance among the players, and eclipsed them all in the bounds he made, and the wildness of his shouts. He was a stranger to all, but when the widow's dream was remembered, he was recognized as her son, and treated with respect. But the youth was yet without a name, for his mother had told him that he should win one for himself by his individual prowess.

Only a few days had elapsed, when it was rumored that a party of Pawnees had overtaken and destroyed a Sioux hunter, when it was immediately determined in council that a party of one hundred warriors should start upon the war-path and revenge the injury. Another council was held for the purpose of appointing a leader, when a young man suddenly entered the ring and claimed the privilege of leading the way. His authority was angrily questioned, but the stranger only replied by pointing to the brilliant eagle's feathers on his head, and by shaking from his belt a large number of fresh Pawnee scalps. They remembered the stranger boy, and acknowledged the supremacy of the stranger man.

Night settled upon the prairie world, and the Sioux warriors started upon the war-path. Morning dawned and a Pawnee village was in ashes, and the bodies of many hundred men, women and children were left upon the ground as food for the wolf and vulture. The Sioux warriors returned to their own encampment when it was ascertained that the nameless leader had taken more than twice as many scalps as his brother warriors. Then it was that a feeling of jealousy arose, which was soon quieted, however, by the news that the Crow Indians had stolen a number of horses and many valuable furs from a Sioux hunter as he was returning from the mountains. Another warlike expedition was planned, and as before the nameless warrior took the lead.

The sun was near his setting, and as the Sioux party looked down upon a Crow village, which occupied the center of a charming valley, the

Sioux chief commanded the attention of his braves and addressed them in the following language:

"I am about to die, my brothers, and must speak my mind. To be fortunate in war is your chief ambition and because I have been successful you are unhappy. Is this right? Have you acted like men? I despise you for your meanness and I intend to prove to you this night that I am the bravest man in the nation. The task will cost me my life, but I am anxious that my nature should be changed and I shall be satisfied. I intend to enter the Crow village alone, but before departing, I have one favor to request. If I succeed in destroying that village, and lose my life, I want you, when I am dead, to cut off my head and protect it with care. You must then kill one of the largest buffaloes in the country and cut off his head. You must then bring his body and my head together, and breathe upon them, when I shall be free to roam in the Spirit-land at all times, and over our great prairie-land wherever I please. And when your hearts are troubled with wickedness remember the *Lone Buffalo*."

The attack upon the Crow village was successful, but according to his prophecy the *Lone Buffalo* received his death wound, and his brother warriors remembered his parting request. The fate of the hero's mother is unknown, but the Indians believe that it is she who annually sends from the Spirit-land the warm winds of spring, which cover the prairies with grass for the sustenance of the Buffalo race. As to the *Lone Buffalo*, he is never seen even by the most cunning hunter, excepting when the moon is at its full. At such times he is invariably alone, cropping his food in some remote part of the prairies; and whenever the heavens resound with the moanings of the thunder, the red man banishes from his breast every feeling of jealousy, for he believes it to be the warning voice of the *Lone Buffalo*.

CHARLES LANMAN.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

---

### AGREEMENT BETWEEN EDMUND MUNRO AND JOHN SELLON

[Edmund Munro of Lexington, Mass. [1736-1778], lieutenant in the French and Indian war. Served at the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775; Lieutenant, Captain Miles's company, Colonel Reed's regiment, also Quartermaster at Ticonderoga and with the Northern army in the campaign ending with Burgoyne's surrender; also Captain, Colonel Bigelow's (13th Mass.) regiment, Continental army; killed in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

The agreement between him and Sellon, executed at Crown Point, is a curious proof of the caution of the New England nature. Sellon practically insures him against loss, for a premium of £3. It is a unique document, as far as we know.—Ed.]

CROWN POINT *July 1. 1762*

Whereas Mr. Edmund Munro Has Served as an Adjutant in the Massachusetts forces Last Winter, by order of the Gov<sup>r</sup> of this Place, and by Virtue of a Warrant Granted to Him Last Year by Gov<sup>r</sup> Bernard And Whereas the Afors<sup>d</sup> Munro is under some Apprehensions that the Massachusetts Government will not grant Him Pay for His Doing the Duty of an Adjutant. from the 17<sup>th</sup> Day of Nov<sup>r</sup> Last till the 4<sup>th</sup> day of March 1762

For and in Consideration of a Note of Hand Given to me the Subscriber Payable to me or my Order for the Sum of Three Pounds Law<sup>l</sup> Money Bearing Equal Date with this I Do hereby Covenant, Seal and make Sure, and if the Province does not Pay Him, the afors<sup>d</sup> Munro, for the Service aforementioned, in that case I Promise to pay or Cause to be paid unto him the Pay allowed for the Service of Adjutant for the term of time afors<sup>d</sup> in Six Months, and Witness my Hand N. B.—if the afors<sup>d</sup> Munro did not Receive a Warrant or Commission to serve as Adjutant Last Year in Col Hoar's Regt then the above Obligation to be void and of None Effect But if he did Receive a Warrant or Commission to act as Adjutant then the above obligation to Remain in full Force and Virtue

JN<sup>s</sup> SELLON

Test. THOMAS COWDIN

## LETTERS OF LIEUTENANT EDMUND MUNRO TO HIS WIFE

[Contributed by his great grandson, Dr. F. H. Brown, Boston.]

TICONDEROGA 16<sup>th</sup> August 1776

MY DEAR—

I arrived at this place the 12<sup>th</sup> Instant after a very fatiguing march through the woods with 75 of the Company, the Capt. Lieut. Ensign with the remainder of the Company are not arrived yet. We had rain almost every day, we are well fortified and Ready for the King's troops if they see cause to pay us a visit. The troops that have been here this Summer are sickly. Moses Harrington died about ten days ago. Daniel Simonds & Samuel Munro are sick but Like to recover, there is none sick of the Small Pox & it is thought there is no Danger, By the last account from Canada it is thought that the King's troops will not be like to come near us this summer, our whole army are Employed in fortifying this place which will soon be strong enough if well man<sup>d</sup> to stand a rangle with all Britain. Francis Bowman & Wm Crosby are well & desire to be remembered to their friends. Lexington men are in good Health. If you will leave a letter at Buckmans the Post will bring it to me. I shall be glad you could write me as I shall not rest easy till I hear from you, by the next post. I hope to send you some money. my love to our little ones as you & they are never out of my mind. My compliments to all friends. I remain my Dear your Loving Husband

EDMD MUNRO

VALEY FORGE, May 17<sup>th</sup> 1778

MY DEAR,

I send these lines with my warmest love & respect to you & the Little ones. Wishing they may find you & them & all friends in perfect Health & Prosperity. I am in good Health through divine goodness. I have nothing new to write you; the Lexington men are in a good State of health, Except Levi Mead & pomp,<sup>1</sup> they are not well, but so that (they) keep about. I am going on command tomorrow morning down

<sup>1</sup> Pomp was a black man, wounded at the battle of Lexington, and probably a servant to Captain Munro.

to the Enemy's lines, there are two thousand going on the command I am of the mind that we shall have a dispute with them before we return Give my dutifull respects to Father & Mother Compliments to all Friends. I conclude, Wishing you & the little ones the Best of Heaven's Blessings, and remain, my dear,

Your Most Efectionate Husband

EDMD MUNRO

Inclosed is a Lancaster news paper which you will see the account of the grand fue de joy we had on the Sixth of May instant which is a true & particular account of that day

VALLEY FORGE, 12 *June* 1778

MY DEAR,

I send these lines with the Most effectionate love & Respect, to you & the children, wishing they may find you in Perfect Health & prosperity. I am well & in High spirits through divine goodness Lexington men are all well; news we have none except the Commissioners are arived from Great Brittain at Philadelphia in order to settle the dispute between us & them They have Sent a Flag of truce, what they had to offer is forwarded to Congress The new establishment of the army is arived in camp; there is to be a Large Reducement of officers, but as it has not taken place as yet, it is not known who are to be Reduced The new arrangement is on a Better footing than it was before. As it is to take place soon I will let you know my destiny by Mr Williams who is in a fair way to recover of the Small Pox; by him I am in Hopes to send you some money. I receiv<sup>d</sup> your letter & a Pair gloves I hope to reward you for your kindness to your satisfaction Be kind enough to let me know whether you have Drawn a Blank or a Prize in States Lottery

My due respects to all Friends

I am my dear your most effectionate

Husband

EDMD MUNRO

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF LINCOLN'S SPEECH ON THE FORMATION OF  
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. No date, but delivered in 1859.

[An extremely valuable Lincoln document, perhaps the best that was ever offered at public sale. It was accompanied by a letter from Mrs. E. J. Grinsley of Springfield, Ill., dated April 10th, 1866, presenting the Speech to the Rev. E. P. Hammond.]

Mrs. Grinsley in her letter calls it "*part of an address*," but it reads like a short but complete speech.]

The following is the text:

Upon those men who are in sentiment opposed to the spread and nationalization of slavery, rests the task of preventing it. The Republican organization is the embodiment of that sentiment; though, as yet, it by no means embraces all the individuals holding that sentiment. The party is newly formed; and in forming, old party ties had to be broken, and the attractions of party pride and influential leaders were wholly wanting—In spite of old differences, prejudices, and animosities, its members were drawn together by a permanent common danger— They formed and manœvered in the face of the disciplined enemy, and in the teeth of all his persistent misrepresentations— Of course, they fell far short of gathering in all their own—And yet, a year ago, they stood up, an army over thirteen hundred thousand strong—That army is, to day, THE BEST HOPE OF THE NATION AND OF THE WORLD— Their work is before them; and FROM WHICH THEY MAY NOT GUILTLESSLY TURN AWAY.

MAJOR JAMES M'HENRY TO GEN. GREENE

[Part of letter of Major James McHenry, member of the Continental Congress, military secretary to Washington, and afterwards Secretary of War, to General Greene. It is dated at Ambler's Plantation, (opposite James Island, Va.), July 8, 1781. It is not signed, but is of great historical interest. He says:]

On the 4th Instant, the Enemy evacuated Williamsburg, where some Stores fell into our Hands, and retreated to this Place, under the Cannon of their Shipping. Next Morning we advanced to Bird's Tavern and a Part of the Army took Post at Narrell's Mills about nine Miles from the British Camp.—The Sixth I detached an advanced Corps under Gen'l Wayne, with a View of reconnoitering the Enemy's Situation. Their light Parties being drawn in, the Pickets which lay close to their Encamp-

ment were gallantly attacked by some Riflemen, whose Skill was employed to great Effect, Having ascertained that Lord Cornwallis had sent off his Baggage, under a proper Escort and posted his Army in an open Field fortified by the Shipping, I returned to the Detachment which I found more generally engaged. A Piece of Cannon had been attempted by the Van Guard under Major Galvan, whose conduct deserves high Applause. Upon this the whole British Army came out and advanced to the thin Wood occupied by Gen'l Wayne. His Corps chiefly composed of Pennsylvanians, and some light Infantry did not exceed eight hundred Men, with three Field Pieces. But notwithstanding their Numbers at Sight of the British Army, the Troops ran to the encounter, a short Skirmish ensued with a close Warm and well directed firing, but as the Enemy's Right and Left, of Course greatly out flanked ours, I sent Gen'l Wayne Orders to retire Half a Mile to where Colonels Vose and Barber's light Infantry Battalions had arrived by a rapid Move and where I ordered them to form, In this Position they remained 'till some Hours after Sunset, The Militia under Gen'l Lawson had been advanced and the Continentals were at Narrel's Mill, when the Enemy retreated in the Night to James Island, which they also evacuated, crossing over to the South Side of the River. Their Ground at this Place and the Island was successively occupied by Gen'l Muhlenberg, many valuable Horses were left on their Retreat. From every account the Enemy's Loss has been very great and much Pains taken to conceal it. Their Light Infantry the Brigade of Guards and two British Regiments formed the first Line. The Remainder of their Army, the Second, the Cavalry paraded, but did nothing. By the enclosed Returns you will see what Part of General Wayne's Detachment Suffered most. The services rendered by the Officers make me happy to think that although many were wounded, we have lost none. Most of the Field Officers had their horses killed. The same accident to every Horse of two Field Pieces made it impossible to move them unless men had been sacrificed. But it is enough for the Glory of Gen'l Wayne, and the Officers and Men he commanded, to have attacked the whole British Army, with a reconnoitering Party only, close to their encampment, and by this severe Skirmish hastened their Retreat over the River. Colo. Bayer of the Riflemen is a Prisoner.



## LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO THE CITIZENS OF SAVANNAH

May 13, 1798.

*To the Citizens of Savannah, and the inhabitants of its vicinity:*

GENTLEMEN.—I am extremely happy in the occasion now afforded me to express my sense of your goodness, and to declare the sincere and affectionate gratitude which it inspires.

The retrospect of past scenes, as it exhibits the virtuous character of our country, enhances the happiness of the present hour, and gives the most pleasing anticipation of progressive prosperity—

The individual satisfaction, to be derived from the grateful reflection, must be enjoyed in a peculiar degree by the deserving citizens of Georgia—a State no less distinguished by its services, than by its sufferings in the cause of freedom.

That the city of Savannah may largely partake of every public benefit, which our free and equal government can dispense, and that the happiness of its vicinity may reply to the best wishes of its inhabitants is my sincere prayer.

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

## LETTER OF MARTHA WASHINGTON

PHILADELPHIA, *December the 3rd, 1792.**To Mrs. Frances Washington:*

MY DEAR FANNY.—Your Letter of the 2d of November came to my hands yesterday—I am truly glad that the Major has had some little relief, and I trust ere this he has found ease from the pain in his breast and side. I beg my dear Fanny to write one day in every week and that we shall know when to expect her letters, we are very anxious when the southern post comes to hear from you. I write to you by every Mondays Post, your letters come to us on Saturday.—I hope you will pay some attention to your own health, as I feared you were in very delicate situation when I left you at Mount Vernon. Thank god we are all tolerable well hear—Tho I know you are with your friends that is ready to give you every assistance and kindness, yet if there is any thing hear that you cannot get where you are that you may want, I beg you will let us know and it will give us pleasure to supply you with it.

I am happy to hear that your dear little Babes keep well.

Our compliments to Mr. Bassett—my love and good wishes to your self and the Major,—Your Brothers and Sisters,—Kiss the children for me. I am my dear Fanny Your most affectionate

M. WASHINGTON.

Popular History for People of All Ages  
**AMERICAN FIGHTS AND FIGHTERS SERIES**

By **CYRUS TOWNSEND BRADY**

**COLONIAL, 1556 TO 1759**

The volume tells of Frontenac's exploits, the capture of Louisburg by the colonists, the fighting around Ticonderoga, and the battle of Quebec. Postpaid \$1.35.

**REVOLUTIONARY, 1776-1812-1815**

A series of dramatically told stories based on the history of the greatest battles fought in the early days of the American people. Postpaid \$1.50.

**BORDER, 1760 TO 1836**

Daniel Boone, Sam Houston, David Crockett, William Harrison and Andrew Jackson are some of the men written about in this volume of border fights. Postpaid \$1.45.

**INDIAN, 1866 TO 1876**

Stories, biographical and historical, of our Indian wars, laying stress upon the heroes who took part in them. The story of the Battle of Little Big Horn is dramatically told. Postpaid \$1.45.

ALL VOLUMES PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED

**McCLURE, PHILLIPS & COMPANY**

44 E. 23d St., New York.

**HISTORY OF HADLEY**

INCLUDING THE

**EARLY HISTORY OF HATFIELD, SOUTH  
HADLEY, AMHERST AND GRANBY**

MASSACHUSETTS

**BY SYLVESTER JUDD**

WITH FAMILY GENEALOGIES

NEW EDITION WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, ADDITIONS, AND COMPLETE INDEX, 670 PAGES

**\$6.00 NET**

EDITION LIMITED TO 1000 COPIES

**H. R. HUNTING & COMPANY**

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Every person interested in New England history should be grateful to your firm for having brought out a new edition of Mr. Judd's valuable History of Hadley. I am familiar with the work in its original edition and your reprint is faithful in every detail, while the additional features of George Sheldon's introduction, the illustrations, etc., give the book an added value. In typography, press work and binding, the volume is highly creditable to the publishers. There is now no reason why this splendid historical work should not be in the hands of every student of history and in every library.

Very truly yours,

**EDWARD P. GUILD,**

Former President of the Heath Historical Society

Established In 1833

RARE AND INTERESTING

BOOKS

AUTOGRAPHS AND ENGRAVINGS

Relating to American History

ARE OFFERED IN NEARLY EVERY SALE HELD BY

**The Anderson Auction Company**

(Successors to Bangs & Co.)

NO. 5 WEST 29TH STREET, NEW YORK

**Sales of Private Collections a Specialty**

## REMINISCENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR

by

**GEN. JOHN B. GORDON**

With Three Portraits \$1.50 Net

This is a new and cheaper edition of this book which has been accepted as one of the greatest books on this greatest conflict in our history.

**P/./U/ .ONES, Founder of the American Navy**

by

**AUGUSTUS C. BUELL**

Illustrated, 2 Vols. \$3.00 Net

Paul Jones as a whole has never before been presented to us and under the skillful hand of Mr. Buell he becomes a living entity and new historical character capable of being measured in relation to the men of his day.—N. Y. Times-Saturday Review.

**CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS**

*Title Page*

VOL. II

No. 6

THE  
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY



WITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

DECEMBER, 1905

WILLIAM ABBATT

281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number



# THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

---

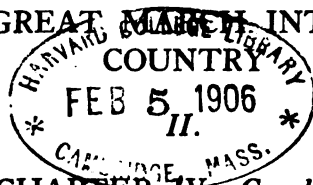
VOL. II

DECEMBER, 1905

No. 6

---

## SULLIVAN'S GREAT MARCH INTO THE INDIAN COUNTRY



### CHAPTER IV—*Concluded.*

SULLIVAN having heard nothing from either Brodhead or Clinton, became especially anxious about the latter, fearing that he might be waylaid by a union of the Tories under Butler and McDonald with Brant's forces. On the 16th of August, he sent forward a picked force of nine hundred men, under Generals Poor and Hand, with the Coehorn mortar and eight days' rations, to advance and meet the right wing. Marching to Owego, then an Indian village, and to Choconut, containing fifty long houses, they heard at sunset of the 18th, Clinton's evening gun. This they answered with their Coehorn. Between the present city of Binghamton and Owego the two forces met and the forest resounded with sounds of mutual acclaim and welcome to brothers in arms. The place of their junction, as we see on the map, is named Union, now a flourishing village. Then the host, the flotilla in boats and the men along the flats and heights, moved down the Susquehanna in fine array. As the united forces of men from three states thus drew near the camp at Tioga Point, Sullivan ordered out the whole army to give them welcome. The fifers and drummers furnished lively music and a *feu de joie*, by the infantry drawn up in single line, completed the ceremonies. This was at noon on Sunday, 21st, and on the site of the present village of Athens.

Previous to the arrival of Clinton's brigade, Sullivan (August 11) had sent westward up the river valley, a party of eight of his bravest officers and men, to reconnoiter the Indian town of Chemung. This collection of bark houses was built on the first great river flat above the village in Chemung county, at present called by that name. Keeping

away from the trail they reached the hill top and looked down upon the town, finding everything in confusion. The Indians fearing an immediate attack in force, were getting ready to move westward. When this scouting party returned to the main camp at three o'clock the next day, Sullivan ordered his whole force to be ready to march at a moment's notice. At 8 P. M., August 12, he started with most of his force on a night march and pushed on through swamps and forests. At morning finding themselves in a fog, they also discovered that the enemy had fled.

General Hand asked that he be allowed to take Colonel Hubley's regiment and the Wyoming companies to pursue the foe. This request was granted and our men pushed eagerly on. In spite of all wariness, Captain Bush's company of the Eleventh Pennsylvania got into an Indian ambush, and six of the Continentals were killed and nine wounded. Our men rallied and drove the Indians off the ground with a loss equal to their own. Then they began destroying sixty acres of standing corn, then in the milk, by cutting down the stalks. While at this work they were again fired on by the Indians in hiding, and one man was killed and five were wounded. Forty acres of maize were left untouched for the future use of the army, and then the whole force returned, greatly wearied with fatigue and the extreme heat. The bodies of the dead were brought back to camp for decent burial.

It was a sad occasion, when in the forest, the seven slain were buried in one grave, which, as was usual, had all outward marks obliterated, so that the savages could not exhume and mutilate the corpses. Then their comrades fired memorial volleys. Thus perished by the bullets of the enemy the first of the men in Sullivan's main expedition. Two days afterwards, a corporal and four men, who were guarding cattle on Queen Esther's plains, were fired on by sneaking Indians. One was shot dead and one wounded. In the rude hospital, quickly built out of green wood, within the lines of the diamond-shaped Fort Sullivan, the fifteen wounded men found shelter and care. In 1897, in digging foundations for the edifice of the Tioga Point Historical Society, at Athens, Pa., the bones of the buried Continentals were exhumed, and with other relics of 1779 are now under glass in the cases of the Spalding Museum.

Having his whole effective force under his direct command, Sullivan reorganized the army, and announced both the order of march and the order of battle. The light troops under General Hand were to form the advance, the riflemen acting as scouts. Poor's brigade was to guard

the right and Maxwell's brigade the left of the army, Clinton's brigade forming the rear guard. The park of nine pieces of artillery was placed in the center, with three columns of pack horses on either side. A morning and evening gun was to be fired daily and on account of the length and narrowness of the moving line through the woods, a horn, instead of drums, was to announce the orders to march or halt. The corps of engineers and surveyors were to measure each rod of ground traversed, and maps of the region traversed were to be made.

In the fort, Colonel Shreve was left with a garrison of two hundred and fifty men of the New Jersey regiment. It was ordered that when further supplies should come up from Wyoming, Captain Reed should proceed up the Chemung Valley, build a fort where Newtown Creek joins the river (at Elmira), and there await the return of the army from the Genesee valley.

The army was now eager to move into the unknown wilderness. The route was up the Chemung river, into the Seneca country, and through the Land of Lakes. There was no hope of reinforcements or relief, and, in case of defeat, of any quarter from the foe. Over paths never trodden by any white man, save the lone trader, trapper, or captive, they must now find much of their food and rely wholly on their own valor. How brave must these men have been, and how equally worthy of fame and honor, was this expedition in comparison with Sherman's march through Georgia to the sea in 1864.

(It is to be noted that in the Centennial celebration of 1879, General William Tecumseh Sherman, was present in the Chemung valley, with words of memorial and congratulations to the thousands present, as well as with praise of the men of 1779 who had given him so inspiring a precedent of success.)

## CHAPTER V

### THE GREAT BATTLE NEAR ELMIRA

ONE of the first obstacles to the army, was a very high hill at the edge of the river. To avoid this, all but the infantry crossed the river twice, being supported and guarded against hostile attack by Maxwell's New Jersey regiments. The other brigades marched over the hill, and camp



was made on the site of the Indian town of Chemung which the advanced detachments had destroyed two weeks before.

Our fathers thought few articles of food more delicious than green corn roasted in the ear. So the maize in the fields near by helped to make a good supper. In addition, the army enjoyed a feast of potatoes, beans, cucumbers, watermelons, squashes and other vegetables which were here in great plenty. It was the season of ripeness.

Towards the end of July, there had gathered together, whites and reds, Indians, Tories, Royal Greens and British regulars, numbering over a thousand men, at Newtown, the Indian town near Baldwin's Creek, opposite to the present village of Wellsburg on the Erie, and at Lohmansville on the Lackawanna railroad. Here they were for weeks hard at work. Tearing down the Indian houses, they built, with the old and fresh-cut logs, a fortification that extended up the slope of the hill to the north and along the western ridge nearer the Chemung river.

But where was the enemy? It was known that the raid of Brant, down the Walkill valley to the Delaware, had failed to draw Sullivan from his main purpose. The other parties of Tories and Indians had been equally impotent. What then should be done to drive back the avenging army and save their villages and crops?

Evidently the only safety was to join all forces. At a great council of Tories and Iroquois, held where Geneva now stands, it was decided to send wampum belts again to every and all tribes and bands of the Iroquois, and bid them assemble to oppose the invaders in the Chemung valley. Some of the parties that started in response to this call arrived too late. The notorious John Butler, who had led the expedition against Wyoming, was in command of the mixed forces of King George, red, black, and white, and the strategy and tactics employed by him showed the combination of the crafts of both savage and civilized man.

On Saturday evening, August 28, Sullivan's advance pickets heard the sound of axes and saw many fires brightly burning along the hills just beyond Baldwin's Creek. A scout sent out a day or two before, reported that the enemy were fortified just beyond the creek and west of the Indian village of Newtown. The march must now be made with a constant reference to ambuscade and with the greatest wariness. "Above all, no Braddocking."

On Sunday, August 29, the day broke with every indication of very

hot weather. The air was close and heavy. The army moved at nine o'clock, the riflemen being well scattered in front of Hand's light corps, so as to act as scouts and skirmishers, while every man in the brigade moved with the greatest caution. Hardly had they gone a mile, before they discovered several Indians in front. One of these fired and then all fled. Going forward still further a mile, the riflemen found the ground low, marshy and well fitted for the shelter of hiding Indians. Moving slowly and alertly, they discovered another party of Indians, who as before, fired and retreated. Evidently their purpose was to lure the Americans into ambush.

Major Parr, commander of the rifle corps, now determined to advance no further without reconnoitering every foot of the ground. Ordering his men to halt, he sent one of them to climb the highest tree and survey the whole situation. The scout was unable at first to discover anything peculiar, but peering intently ahead, he made out a line of brushwood artfully concealed with green boughs and trees. Starting from near the Chemung river on the left, it ran up the slope of a high hill to the right, for possibly half a mile. Here had been the Indian village of Newtown, consisting of twenty-five or thirty bark houses, but most of the houses had given way to timber entrenchments and to the camp inside of them, though two or three were left so as to form, as it were, bastions for the newly-built fort.

Here the enemy had gathered to make their determined stand. Their force, numbering about nine hundred warriors from five tribes, had been reinforced by between two and three hundred white men, Tories and Canadians, drilled and aided by fifteen regular soldiers of the British army, and commanded by Butler, McDonald, and Brant, while two or three hundred more warriors were soon expected.

Such a position was a formidable obstacle to the advance even of an army provided with artillery. The right flank of the British rested on the river, their left on the side of a hill, while immediately in front of them and for a space of about one hundred yards was a cleared field which their fire could sweep easily. Between this field and the Continental lines was a stream, since called Baldwin's Creek, and then very difficult to cross. On the American right lay a valley so low and marshy that an attack in flank would seem nearly impossible. Thus the place was evidently well chosen.

Nearly the whole story of Indian craft in war is told in the one

word, concealment. To hide their breastworks with the hope that the invaders might come very near to them without their being discovered, the Tories and Indians had laid boughs and greenery over the front and top. They had even planted out in front, here and there, fresh young trees, so as to give the appearance of primitive and untouched forests. They had stuck these young trees in the ground outside the breastworks and had thoroughly cleaned up the ground, so that no chips or evidence of human industry were left lying about. They hoped also that Sullivan's troops would rush for plunder into the few Indian houses left standing outside the lines and would thus be entrapped.

Evidently, also it was their design that the Continentals, moving in a narrow defile and strung out in a line several miles long, should be caught between the river and the entrenchments, while the Indians in ambush could pour in their fire. They hoped to "Braddock" Sullivan's force by stampeding the pack horses and cattle. On the high hill across the river, and on the summit to the northward, watching parties were stationed by Brant so that at the right moment they could quickly descend. Then by frightening the animals, sending them flying in every direction, they could complete the destruction of the army thus huddled together. With so many chances in their favor, the Tories and Indians hoped to give the Continental army such a check as to compel its return.

All these plans were frustrated by the great caution of Sullivan and the alertness of his lieutenants. When Major Parr, about noon, reported to his superior the situation of the enemy, Hand sent forward the riflemen to occupy the banks of the creek, within one hundred yards of the breastworks and under cover. The light brigade then moved to within three hundred yards and deployed in line of battle. Sullivan coming forward with the main army, sent Ogden's flanking division along the river to the left of Hand's light brigade and further to the west. He ordered Maxwell to remain in the rear in reserve. For a flank attack, he detached two brigades, Poor's New Hampshire and Clinton's New York, to move to the right and north. They were to make their way up the swampy valley, and gain, if possible, the enemy's left and rear. In order to divert attention from this flank attack, Hand's light corps opened in the center, while Proctor's nine guns were run forward and posted on a hillock, directly in front of the angle of the breastworks and about two hundred yards distance from them. As everything had to be done in a rough

country in the woods, on a fearfully hot day, it took several hours to get the batteries and the brigades into position.

Then opened a lively fusilade, of small arms, which held the attention of the enemy. It was proposed to allow until three o'clock for Poor and Clinton to reach the top of the hill (now called Sullivan's Hill, on which the lofty monument stands), whence they were to turn and charge down upon the enemy. Yet Sullivan listened long in vain for the sound of musketry upon the distant right wing, notwithstanding that it was Poor's intention to advance with unloaded guns and charge with the bayonet, for Wayne's handsome work at Stony Point on July 16, only six weeks before, had stirred the army with an ambition to achieve a similar victory with cold steel. Colonel Cilley, who commanded a New Hampshire regiment, had been with Wayne on the Hudson and was now with Poor.

At three o'clock, Sullivan thinking it not wise to wait longer, gave order to Proctor to open fire with all his guns. The two howitzers, the little Coehorn and the six cannon opened with a terrific roar, while the light corps were ordered to be in readiness for a charge, as soon as the firing of the flanking column was heard. It was intended that the cannonade should be the prelude to a general advance on front and flank. The guns grew hot with firing, however, before anything was heard from the New Hampshire men, who had been obliged to face unexpected difficulties and especially to flounder through swamps, far deeper than anyone had supposed.

Proctor's round shot, grape and bombs not only cut and tore the forest trees to the terror of the savages, but did terrible execution. In many places within the enemy's line the bloody proofs of the terrific and destructive power of the shell fire were afterwards amply evident. Brant, their mighty leader, found it was all he could do to hold his painted warriors together. Suddenly, rather to their relief, than otherwise, runners from the hilltop came to inform their chief that the enemy had made an attack in force on their left flank, driven in the party of watchers, and were moving forward on the main body. Glad to escape the terrific missiles of the artillery, and to give his braves congenial occupation and one more suitable to Indian warfare, Brant led off a large party, possibly the majority of his warriors, to repel this new danger.

Turning now to the hilltop on the right and to the flanking operations, we behold the most startling episode of the battle, when for a

moment it looked as if a cloud of red men was about to overwhelm this one isolated body of their foes. The second New Hampshire regiment under Colonel Reid, separated from the others in the brigade, suddenly found themselves partly surrounded by a semi-circle of rifles and hatchets. Their thin scattered line of riflemen, sent out to scour the woods as skirmishers, and at this time only a few yards in front of them, was quickly driven back before a whirlwind of fire. With unloaded muskets, the destruction of Reid's regiment seemed certain. Nevertheless the salvation of the Americans was in the Indians firing too high. They were too certain of victory to keep cool and take sure aim.

This was the situation—Dearborn's Third New Hampshire, Alden's Sixth Massachusetts, Cilley's First New Hampshire, and Du Bois's two hundred and fifty picked New Yorkers, on the extreme right flank, and far to the northwest of the main body, made up, with the Second New Hampshire, the brigade. These regiments moving in the woods, in a country which no white man had ever penetrated, had become quite separated from each other. Poor, the commander, hoping to completely outflank the enemy, was far ahead on the right, too distant to be heard from. Clinton's brigade, consisting of the Third New York under Gansevoort, the Fifth New York commanded by Du Bois, the Fourth New York led by Livingston, and the Second New York on the right under Van Cortlandt, formed the reserve, but they were still far below in the rear. The regiments were all small, numbering each about three hundred men. The great and imminent danger was that Brant's seven hundred warriors might wholly overwhelm the men of one regiment before help could reach them from their comrades.

Such disaster seemed now to threaten. Starting his men on the run, Brant had reached the hill top, just as the men of Reid's Second New Hampshire, nearly out of breath, and toiling amid the terrific heat, were only half way up the rough face of the rather steep eastern slope. At the extreme left of their brigade and nearest the British breastworks, which were a few hundred rods to the westward, Reid's men found themselves far away and out of sight from their comrades in the other regiments, which were further to the right—east and north. Their guns were unloaded while their ears were deafened with the yell of hundreds of exultant savages who felt sure of scalps. In a moment more they were face to face with the foe. With their empty muskets, defeat and massacre seemed certain. They realized that their brigadier, Poor, was far away

to the right, pressing his troops on to the attack, hoping to close in upon the enemy and prevent their retreat.

There was but one thing to do. It was to fix bayonets and charge. Reid shouted the order. His men, jaded as they were, pushed further up the hill, driving the enemy for a moment before them and getting a bare chance, in the momentary lull, to load their guns. Then began the usual fusilade among the trees. Yet it was still a desperate uncertainty and the enemy outnumbered them.

Not far away, Dearborn, with the Third New Hampshire, hearing the firing, realized at once the peril in which Reid was. Without waiting a moment, he took the responsibility, without orders, to right about face. He did so, supporting Reid and striking the enemy on the flank, while Clinton, equally alert, pushed forward two of his regiments. His object was to support the New Hampshires and if possible gain Brant's rear.

Then ensued a severe fight in the woods, which from the nature of the situation could not last very long. Brant seeing his plans upset, ordered his men to retreat and save themselves.

At the same time, further down on the flats, Sullivan having heard the report of the guns on the hill, at once ordered an advance along the whole line. With cheers our men rushed over the entrenchments, and then a running fight of several miles, indeed all the way into the limits of the modern city of Elmira, ensued. Nevertheless the enemy were able to escape, being much more familiar with the country. They carried away their wounded in canoes up the river, and made off with, or concealed some of the bodies of their dead.

The battlefield was fully occupied by our trains and camp, and about six o'clock in the afternoon, when the pursuit stopped, three cheers told the story of another American victory. The known loss of the enemy was thirteen whites and many Indians. Twenty-six corpses of red men were found upon the field. Two prisoners, one a negro and one a Tory with his face painted black, were taken. General Sullivan reported three killed and twenty-nine wounded, five of whom afterwards died. All the patriot dead and most of the wounded were New Hampshire men, and all the casualties except four were in Poor's brigade, Reid's regiment suffering the worst.

In reality this was one of the great decisive battles of the Revolution,

for it broke forever the power of the Iroquois. Throughout the war, except in small parties, neither Tories nor savages were able to gather for raids. As a military factor the warriors of the Six Nations never again appeared in or with an army. Sullivan and his soldiers had ended the flank attacks on the army, and opened the way for civilization into western New York and Pennsylvania. Indeed, for over half a century, or until the railways dictated the lines of travel, "Sullivan's Road" was the main highway into New York from Pennsylvania.

## CHAPTER VI

### IN THE WONDERFUL LAKE REGION

IT began to rain on Sunday shortly after the battle firing was over, and the next day, Monday, August 30, was a day of rest.

It was also necessary, in consequence of the very poor and insufficient provisions, as well as the want of enough pack horses, to cut down to one-half the rations of flour, salt and meat. However, as the country through which they were to march was rich in vegetable food, Sullivan issued orders, stating the facts, and asking that "the troops will please to consider the matter and give their opinion as soon as possible." So late that afternoon the whole army was drawn up in the separate brigades and regiments. Then the question was put whether they would advance, taking the risk of hunger.

"Without a dissenting voice, the whole army cheerfully agreed to the request of the General, which was signified by unanimously holding up their hands and giving three cheers." Neither the remembered horrors of Valley Forge, nor the risk of possible starvation could discourage the army. With many a laugh and joke, the men moved forward to their "Succotash Campaign." They were happy to know that the heavier artillery, the two howitzers and brace of six pounders were to be sent back. The labor of drawing ammunition wagons and heavy cannon up and down hills would be much reduced. Nevertheless, the four three pounders and caissons, taken along with the Coehorn, meant much chopping in the woods to make a path.

On Tuesday, the line of march was taken up through the broken, swampy, and mountainous country. For their night's camp the men were

happy to find a level plain, but the next day they had to go through Bear Swamp, which was then a horrible dark quagmire six miles long. Having a clay bottom, the black mire held the water which flowed tortuously through the spongy soil, in which the vegetation of centuries had made a peaty mass, which the recent rains had made as unstable as a jelly and slippery as soap. Here was the divide of waters between the Susquehanna and the Saint Lawrence rivers, flowing into the Atlantic at Labrador or Hatteras. The Indian trail through this soggy country passed through defiles, over mounds and through ravine after ravine, rough and scrubby, while through all meandered a stream of dark water. Only with the most tremendous toil were the Continentals able to get through, and the rear guard did not reach hard ground until long after noon next day. The cannon were pulled through only by the toil of hundreds of men at the drag ropes, or by laying on the worst places corduroy, or a rough road of trees and brushwood. Many horses were mired and abandoned, and scores of packs with precious bags of flour and ammunition were lost. Altogether it was a most terrible experience, much worse than in the Pennsylvania swamp, called "The Shades of Death," which they had traversed.

For years afterwards, that horrible night formed the blackest memory and gave the most disturbing element to the dreams of the old soldiers. In our time, as we travel through this drained and dry valley between the green walls of the hills on either side, we wonder as we look over the celery gardens where Bear Swamp was. Within half a century after Sullivan's march and return, the forests were cleared and the Chemung canal, bearing millions of cubic feet of timber to the great cities, and especially to build the Maryland privateers for the War of 1812, traversed and drained the swamp. To-day smiling farms and vegetable gardens on either side of the well laid beds of the steam railway and electric trolley line fill the sunny and beautiful valley.

Just beyond this horrible swamp of 1779 lay the village of Sheaquaga, or "French Catherine's town," three miles from Seneca Lake, on the site of the present town of Havana, or Montour Falls. It was the capital of the Indian Queen Catherine Montour, and contained her "palace." It consisted of about forty "long," or apartment, houses of timber and bark, with splendid cornfields, orchards, and fenced enclosures, in which were horses, cows, calves and hogs. It looked as though the army would have, for a little while at least, meat rations. Here had been



the home of Catherine, sister of Queen Esther and granddaughter of Adam Montour, who was the offspring of Count Frontenac. A Dutch family had also lived here among the Indians. It seemed strange to our men to find feather beds and other evidences of civilization so far in the wilderness. Some of it was the plunder from Cherry Valley and Wyoming.

The town was deserted, but our troops had to wait all day Thursday for the pack horses and cattle that emerged one by one, or in parties, from the darkness of the dreadful swamp. They found an old squaw, whom they compelled to give information about the Indians. Then they built for her a hut and left her some provisions. Moving northward along the eastern shores of Seneca Lake, through open woods and level country, they found corn roasting in the fire, their supper left untasted and all the evidences of the hasty movement of a large body of Indians.

They next day they moved as far as North Hector, to a village consisting of one very large apartment house with several rooms and fires. To this day the new timber, grown up in the place of the old forest cut through for the artillery, can be easily discerned. Resuming their march, they came on Sunday, September 5, to Kendaia, or Apple Town. This was an Indian village of the first class, over twenty large, long apartment houses built of timber and bark, some of them well painted. There were apple and peach orchards, with many hundreds of trees ripening their fruit, and a cemetery, in which there were tombs erected to the chiefs and made of hewn and painted planks. Here they met with a white captive, Luke Sweetland, whom the Indians had kept employed in making salt. All this lake region is underlaid with beds of the purest chloride of sodium, and in times of peace the Senecas and Onondagas drove a thriving trade with the other tribes in this necessity of life. They made their salt by boiling the brine from salt springs. To-day at Ithaca and Ludlowville the white crystals fill daily a freight train.

On the sixth of September the evening gun sounded at Indian Hollow. On the seventh day they reached the great Seneca town of Kanadesaga, lying on both sides of Castle Creek near what is now Geneva, N. Y. Here had dwelt Old Smoke, the Indian King, and his son who married a daughter of Catherine Montour. In 1756, during the Old French War, Sir William Johnson had built a fort, or stockade, in this town, which was regularly laid out with the open square, in which the

fort stood, in the center. Orchards and gardens were plentiful, especially on the north and northeast. Although Sullivan had expected to fight a battle here, and had deployed his regiments for assault, yet the town was found to be entirely deserted, except that a little white boy three years old, captured from one of the settlements, was found playing, though nearly starved. The circular mound, on which the councils of the chiefs and orators were held, still stands, a monument of a nearly vanished race. Gleefully the troops marched in and through the town, with pumpkins and squashes skewered on their bayonets.

The Continentals were now in that renowned lake region of New York famous among the Indians not only for its salt springs, but for its abundance of fish and fruit, and the general fertility of the soil. The forest was still dense all around them, except the more frequent openings, but the Indian villages were numerous and with luxuriant vegetable gardens. In these, onions, peas, beans, squashes, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, watermelons, carrots and parsnips were plentiful, while great cornfields stretched farther off into the clearings and to the very edge of the forest, and orchards of apple, peach and mulberry trees were within easy reach.

It was this great store of vegetable food found everywhere ready that decided Sullivan and his brigade commanders, after a council of war, to push on further westward, despite the very scanty supplies of meat and flour rations. So the horses and the men unable to proceed further by reason of sickness or lameness, were sent back to the fort at Tioga Point, Captain Reed of Massachusetts with fifty men forming the escort. Thence he was to return again, as we have seen, to Kanawaholla, near the present city of Elmira, with supplies for the army on its return.

The main army, facing the setting sun, camped at Flint Creek September 9, and on the next day at noon reached Canandaigua, so named because here the trading Indians on the trail, or red commercial travellers on the road, "took off their pack" to rest. It was an Indian town of twenty-three large houses, with standing crops, all of which, as at the other places, were given to the torch. It is said that the women and papposes hid themselves on Squaw Island, in the lake near the town. On Saturday, September 11, the Stars and Stripes were unfurled at the foot of Honeoye Lake, where stood the Indian village of twenty long houses. All these except one, selected for a fortified storehouse, were

set on fire. The walls of this strongest dwelling were still further strengthened with kegs and bags of flour, and a ditch dug and *abatis* made. Then two three pounders were mounted and their black noses poked out of the port holes cut through the walls. Here the sick and disabled, amounting to nearly three hundred, were left, in camp. The weakest found quarters in the rooms and bunks of the Indian house. Then the whole army, now able to move as a light armed corps, pressed forward to the goal, which was the big Indian town in the Genesee river valley, near what is now Cuylerville, below Geneseo, N. Y. Delayed by storm and rain next day, only eleven miles were made to Adjuton, a village of eighteen houses, near Conesus Lake, where had lived two celebrities, Captain Sunfish, a negro, and Big Tree, a Seneca chief. The fresh evidences of savages near at hand, were very manifest on the Indian path leading to the Genesee town.

It may be wondered what had become of the motley British force after their defeat at Newtown. As a matter of fact, two hundred fresh Indian warriors had joined Brant just after the battle. They were clamorous to advance at once against the Americans, but those who had a taste of grape shot and bursting bombs were unwilling to make a stand. So the whole force of red and white allies of King George had retreated to the north and west, making camp near Avon, in Livingston County. Keeping out their scouts on the hilltops, they were well informed of Sullivan's movements.

Now, knowing that he had left Conesus, evidently to attack the big town of the Senecas, Brant and Butler chose a strong position. It was remarkably like that of Braddock's field, in Pennsylvania, wherein the pride of England's infantry were changed, from red-coated soldiers, in the glory of lusty life, to heaps of bleaching bones. On a bluff, parallel with the western side of Conesus Lake, well forested, but full of deep ravines, Butler posted his men in ambush. He hoped that Sullivan would advance with his men up the well known trail between two ravines. He had broken down the old, rude bridge over the stream, but he knew that the Continental pioneers would be likely to build another out of the oak and hickory which abounded here. Here he expected to post his men and watch for the opportunity when the scouts should announce the nearness of Sullivan, who was without artillery. With his fresh reinforcements Butler was confident of victory.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

ITHACA, N. Y.

(To be continued.)

## THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE ROYAL COLONY OF NEW YORK.

### CHAPTER VI—*Concluded*

IT is also important to remember that the press appealed to a very much smaller percentage of the population in colonial times than it does to-day. "In Boston with a population of 8000, Campbell succeeded in selling but 3000 copies of his News Letters when it was the only newspaper printed in America."<sup>1</sup> Later the circulation of all the papers increased, but it was still but a small proportion of the colonists who received first hand the opinions of the editor. And this body of subscribers was for the most part of the professional class or the wealthier part of those in trade, persons naturally of a conservative temper and apt to look with disfavor on any strong attack on or disregard of legalized and established authority.

In New York, owing to the peculiar way in which the press was introduced, it for the first forty years of its existence did nothing to put itself in antagonism to the government; in Massachusetts it at first was given a subvention by the General Court; in South Carolina a comparatively large sum was offered to any printer who would brave the dangers of the climate and establish a press. With these exceptions its early days were passed under governments which viewed with dislike or suspicion any attempts on the part of the printers to take an intelligent part in the questions that were interesting the people. For this reason the press in all the colonies early assumed a position of antagonism to the constituted authority and in return the government took every opportunity to hurt it by means of prosecutions in the courts or inquisitorial proceedings before the Governor and his Council. It is interesting to note however that these proceedings lost almost all their terrors as the period of the Revolution approached, for the press received more and more the support of the people, who had learned to appreciate the wide circulation which

<sup>1</sup> Hudson, *History of Journalism*, p. 57.

the newspaper gave to the new doctrines; thus we constantly find the grand juries refusing to find true bills against the printers, in this way reducing the Governor to the use of Informations which were looked on with suspicion by the people and seldom resulted in a verdict of Guilty.

But the greatest influence of the press was exerted through the flood of hand-bills and pamphlets which ever increased in volume as the period of the Revolution drew near. Printed in large numbers and circulating everywhere, we find Governors reporting to the home government that it was impossible to stop them, and that they were doing incalculable harm.

If now we attempt in a very brief way to review the whole matter of the struggle for the liberty of the press we shall find:

First: That the system in vogue in America, as in England, up to the close of the seventeenth century, was a system of administrative control by the Crown through appointed officers called Censors, to whom all writings had to be submitted before publication and who either gave or refused permission to print. That this Censorship was shared by Church and State in some instances only complicated the situation.

Second: With the failure to pass the Licensing Bill in 1695 the press became in all parts of the English dominion freed from this censorship; but a system of judicial control took its place, for all publications were now subject to the law of libel, and an attack on the dominant party was held by the courts to be a libel, and a censure of the Governor to be a personal reflection on the King. In Franklin's case in England in 1731,<sup>2</sup> it was laid down by Lord Raymond that the court alone was to judge of the criminality of a libel, to the jury was given only the right to decide as to the fact of publication.

In England that doctrine continued in force until the passage of Mr. Fox's Libel Bill in 1792. But fifty-eight years earlier the Zenger case (in 1734) had established in principle the freedom of the press in the colonies, by settling the right of juries to find a general verdict in libel cases. We have said "in principle" for this right, which the colonists soon grew to consider as a part of their common law, was yet in practice more or less nullified in the different colonies according as the Governor was able to impose his will on the courts or was opposed by an intelligent public opinion.

In other words, liberty of the press did not and could not exist in

<sup>2</sup> Howell's State Trials XVII, 1243.

the colonial period, but the people accepted the principle and when they obtained the opportunity incorporated it in Bills of Rights and State Constitutions. The Continental Congress in issuing, on Oct. 21st, 1774, an "Address to the people of Canada" proceeded to detail and enlarge upon the rights to which English subjects were entitled, and among them placed the freedom of the press.<sup>8</sup>

We see the same point made by State after State.

Maryland, 1776: "That the liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved."

Virginia, 1776: "That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments."

Pennsylvania, 1776: "That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing, and of publishing their sentiments; therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained."

Georgia, 1777: "Freedom of the press and trial by jury to remain inviolable forever."

Vermont, 1777: "That the public have the right to freedom of speech and of writing and publishing their sentiments; therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained."

South Carolina, 1778: "That the liberty of the press be inviolably preserved."

Massachusetts, 1780: "The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; and ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth."

New Hampshire, 1784: "The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; and it ought, therefore, to be inviolably preserved."

Pinckney's Plan of 1787: "The Legislature of the United States shall pass no law touching or abridging the liberty of the press."

Delaware, 1792: "The press shall be free to every citizen who undertakes to examine the official conduct of men acting in a public

<sup>8</sup> Wm. Duane, "Canada and the Continental Congress," p. 20.

capacity, and any citizen may print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for publications investigating the proceedings of officers, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels, the jury may determine the facts and the law, as in other cases."

After the Federal Convention came together in 1787 it was proposed to insert in the Constitution, "the liberty of the press shall be inviolably preserved." This was defeated by six states against five.<sup>4</sup> But when the different States afterwards sent to the first Congress the proposals from which the first ten Amendments were selected we find in nearly all some reference to the liberty of the press. The article on the subject from Massachusetts was selected and now appears as a part of the First Amendment to the Constitution, "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."<sup>5</sup> And since that time nearly every Constitution drawn up by the different States has contained an admission of the principle so long contended for by supporters of the rights of the press, that, as David Hume says, "its liberties, and the liberties of the people must stand or fall together."

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrews, Alexander—History of British Journalism; 2 vols. London, 1859.  
 Anson, Sir Wm. R.—Law and Custom of the Constitution; 2 vols. Oxford, 1886.  
 Barry, John Stetson—The History of Massachusetts; 3 vols. Boston, 1855.  
 Booth, Mary L.—The History of the City of New York. New York, 1880.  
 Bradford, Wm.—New England's Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsylvania. New York, 1693.  
 Brodhead, John Romeyn—History of the State of New York; 2 vols. New York, v.d.  
 Brown, David Paul—The Forum; 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1856.  
 Brown, Henry B.—The Liberty of the Press; *Am. Law Review*, 34, 321.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Convention*, p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> *Elliot's Debates*, Vol. I, p. 183.

- Buckingham, Joseph T.—Specimens of Newspaper Literature, with Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Reminiscences; 2 vols. Boston, 1852.
- Burk, John D.—The History of Virginia from its first Settlement to the Present Day; 4 vols. Petersburg, Va., 1805.
- Burn, John Southerden—The Star Chamber. London, 1870.
- Chalmers, George—Political Annals of the Present United Colonies from the Settlement to the Peace of 1763. London, 1780.
- Collier, Edward—Essay on the Law of Patents and the General History of Monopolies. London, 1803.
- Cucheval-Clarigny, M.—Histoire de la Presse en Angleterre et aux Etats Unis. Paris, 1857.
- De Peyster, Frederic—Early Political History of New York. New York, 1865.
- Duane, Wm.—Canada and the Continental Congress, An Address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1850.
- Dunlap, Wm.—History of New York; 2 vols. New York, 1839.
- Eastman, F. S.—History of New York. New York, 1831.
- Fisher & Strahan—Law of the Press. London, 1895.
- Force, Peter—American Archives; 9 vols. Washington, v.d.
- Ford, Paul Leicester—Journal of Hugh Gaine. New York, 1901.
- Fowle, Daniel—Total Eclipse of Liberty. Boston, 1755.
- Franklin, Benjamin—Autobiography. New York, 1849.
- Fraser, Hugh—Privileges of the Press in relation to Libel; Law Quarterly Review, 7, 158.
- Gentz, F. von—Reflections on the Liberty of the Press in Great Britain. London, 1820 (trans.)
- Gordon, Wm. D. D.—The History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America; 4 vols. London, 1788.
- Grant, James—History of the Newspaper Press. London, 1840.
- Hall, Robert—An Apology for the Freedom of the Press and for General Liberty. London, 1793.
- Harrison, W. L. S.—Proceedings at the Printers Banquet held at the N. Y. Typographical Society, on the Occasion of Franklin's Birthday, 1850. New York, 1850.
- Hening, Wm. Waller—Statutes at Large of Virginia; 16 vols. New York, 1823.



- Howell, T. B.—State Trials; 30 vols. London, v.d.
- Hildeburn, Charles—Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York. New York, 1895.
- Hudson, Frederick—A History of Journalism. New York, 1873.
- Hunt, F. Knight—The Fourth Estate; Contributions Towards a History of Newspapers and of the Liberty of the Press; 2 vols. London, 1850.
- Hutchinson, Thomas—History of Massachusetts; 2 vols. Salem, 1795.
- Jefferson, Thomas—Notes on the State of Virginia. London, 1787.
- Jones, Horatio Gates—Andrew Bradford, Founder of the Newspaper Press in the Middle States of America; An Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1869.
- Lechford, Thomas—Note-Book. Am. Antiquarian Society; Vol. VII, 1885.
- Leake, Isaac Q.—Memoirs of the Life and Times of General John Lamb. Albany, 1850.
- Lincoln, Wm.—History of Worcester, Mass. Worcester, 1862.
- Massachusetts—MS. Records of the Colony.
- McAdam, David—History of the Bench and Bar of New York; 2 vols. New York, 1897.
- McMaster, John Bach—A Free Press in the Middle Colonies. Princeton Review; Vol. I (N. S.)
- Munsell, Joel—Annals of Albany; 10 vols. Albany, v.d.
- New York—The Colonial Laws of; 5 vols. Albany, 1894.
- New York—Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of. 1691-1765; 2 vols. New York, 1765.
- New York—Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of. 1766-1776. Albany, 1820 (reprint).
- New York—Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Albany. New York, 1861.
- North, S. N. D.—Constitutional Development of the Colony of New York. Mag. Am. Hist. III, 161.
- O'Callaghan, E. B.—Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York; 11 vols. Albany, v.d.
- Odgers, W. Blake—The Law of Libel. Philadelphia, 1887.
- Pennsylvania—Minutes of the Provincial Council of; 3 vols. Philadelphia, 1852.
- Proud, Robert—History of Pennsylvania; 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1798.

- Ross, Peter—A History of Long Island. New York, 1903.
- Rutherford, Livingston—John Peter Zenger. His Press, His Trial, and a Bibliography of his Imprints and those issued by his Wife and Son. Also a reprint of the Trial. New York, 1904.
- Satterlee, Herbert L.—Political History of the Province of New York. New York, 1885.
- Taylor, Hannis—The Freedom of the Press. Argument ex parte John L. Rapiere, before Supreme Court of U. S., n.p., n.d.
- Taylor, Henry Osborn—Development of Constitutional Government in the American Colonies. Mag. Am. Hist. II, 705.
- Thomas, Benjamin Franklin, Memoir of Isaiah Thomas. Boston, 1874.
- Thomas, Isaiah—History of Printing; 2 vols. Albany, 1874.
- The Tryal of John Peter Zenger. London, 1738.
- Wallace, John William—Address on Wm. Bradford. Albany, 1863.
- Wallace, John William—Col. Wm. Bradford. Philadelphia, 1884.

LIVINGSTON ROWE SCHUYLER.

NEW YORK CITY.



## RELICS OF COMMODORE JOHN BARRY IN PHILADELPHIA

**A**PROPOS of the proposed erection here of a monument to the memory of Commodore John Barry, it is interesting to know that in addition to his tomb in St. Mary's Churchyard, on Fourth street below Locust, where he was buried, there are many other relics of the great naval commander in this city, which was his home and where he maintained both a town and country residence. In Fairmount Park, too, is a monument not known to many people, where one of the five figures of the fountain erected by the Catholic Total Abstinence Society is a statue of Barry. It is of heroic size and the inscription, besides reciting some of his principal exploits on the sea, describes him as the first commodore of the United States navy.

Nearly all the other relics are in the possession of Mrs. W. Horace Hepburn of this city, who is a great-grandniece of Barry, and also a granddaughter of Commodore Bainbridge, and to whom they have been handed down. They are of many kinds and, taken altogether, would form quite a museum. Some of them are particularly valuable as records of history, among these being the logs of the *Alliance* and other warships which Barry commanded. Another documentary relic is the commission as captain and commander of the frigate *United States* issued to Barry to "take rank from the fourth day of June, 1804." It is dated February 22, 1797, however, and is signed by Washington. On the margin it is numbered "one," showing it to have been the first captain's commission issued in the navy of the new constitutional government.

Of nearly equal importance as a record is the certificate of Barry's membership in the Society of the Cincinnati. With this Mrs. Hepburn has also the handsome jewelled badge of the order presented to him by Lafayette. It is in the regular form of the organization's emblem, but is very ornate. It was manufactured in France. Also in Mrs. Hepburn's possession is Stuart's original portrait, a copy of which, by Colin Campbell Cooper, was presented to the city by the Hibernian Society in 1895, and now hangs in Independence Hall. The Stuart portrait was painted in this city.

Among the relics is a set of china, much of which was used on the frigate *Alliance*. Among these is a punch bowl and pitcher in white china, with a good picture of the frigate under full sail on each. This china was probably made in France, but that point has not as yet been definitely determined. What were also probably used on the ship are a number of glass goblets and other glassware, which are not particularly fine as to design and manufacture, but are none the less cherished as relics. There is also a considerable quantity of French china, with the monogram S. B., for Sarah Barry, on it, and a number of dinner plates, which were probably used in his house. Pertaining more closely to the commander's seafaring career are one of his swords, a gun, and a full-dress uniform, the latter consisting of yellow nankeen knee breeches and vest, with a blue frock coat with immense brass buttons. The size of these garments emphasizes the well-known fact that the commodore was a very large man. Originally among the relics were a pair of silver knee buckles, which, before the collection came into the hands of its present owner, were melted down and made into teaspoons. How big they were may be inferred from the fact that they made six spoons. Mrs. Hepburn has these spoons, but says she would much prefer to have the silver in its original form of buckles. Commodore Barry's watch is also in the collection, as is a large solid silver ale tankard, which was probably used on land.

Barry's tomb in St. Mary's churchyard is one of the most impressive mementos of him because of the inscription which it bears. The original tomb was erected by the commodore's widow, but this became dilapidated through the ravages of time and the inscription, written by Dr. Benjamin Rush, a copy of which has been preserved in the Ridgeway branch of the Philadelphia Library, was barely decipherable as early as 1865. In 1876 the tomb was repaired, and now bears the following inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of Commodore John Barry, father of the American navy. Let the Christian patriot and soldier who visits these mansions of the dead view this monument with respect and veneration. Beneath it rest the remains of John Barry, who was born in County Wexford, Ireland, in the year 1745. America was the object of his patriotism, and the aim of his usefulness and ambition. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War he held the commission of captain in the then limited navy of the colonies. His achievements in battle and his renowned naval tactics merited for him the position of commodore, and to be

justly regarded as the father of the American navy. He fought often and bled in the cause of freedom, but his deeds of valor did not diminish in him the virtues which adorned his private life. He was eminently gentle, kind, just, and charitable, and no less beloved by his family and friends than by his grateful country. Firm in the faith and practices of the Roman Catholic Church, he departed this life on the 13th day of September, 1803, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. In grateful remembrance, a few of his countrymen, members of St. Mary's Church and others, have contributed towards this second monument, erected July 1, 1876. *Requiescat in Pace.*"

Commodore Barry's deeds as a naval officer, the fact that he commanded the *Lexington*, the first armed cruiser; that he captured and brought to Philadelphia the first prize; that he fought the last naval battle, and many other such points in his brilliant record, are all embalmed in the nation's history. In private life he was a loyal friend and a good citizen, social in his tastes, hearty in his manner, and genial to all. He was a sailor before joining our navy, having been placed in the merchant marine service by his father when a mere boy. He came to this country when probably about twenty-one years old, reaching Philadelphia from the island of Barbados, in command of the schooner *Barbados*. This was ten years before the Révolution, and from that time until the opening of the war he followed his career in these waters, and in command of vessels sailing between here and England. He was twice married, and both wives were buried in the same grave in St. Mary's churchyard. His second wife, Sarah Austin, and her sister, Mary, are said to have made and presented to John Paul Jones the flag of the *Bon Homme Richard*. Commodore Barry died in 1803, at his country residence, "Strawberry Hill." This was not the Strawberry Hill in Fairmount Park, but was located on Frankford Road, at Gunner's Run. The body was brought to his city residence, on the south side of Chestnut Street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, on a site about opposite the *Record* building, where the funeral took place.—*Philadelphia Record*.

## BUSHNELL'S "TURTLE"

**T**HE successful use in the Russian-Japanese war (as is supposed, for no official statement has come from the Japanese officials) of submarine boats has obscured the historic fact that one hundred and thirty years ago the first attempt of the kind was made in the harbor of New York.

It is a fact that is not generally known, but which is of official record—that the first serious attempt in this line was the work of a Yale undergraduate. It was while a freshman at Yale, in the year 1771, that David Bushnell, an ingenious Connecticut boy, conceived the idea of a submarine vessel as a desirable means of defensive warfare. He kept at the problem throughout the four years of his college course, and by the time of his graduation, in 1775, had made several successful trial trips with his *American Turtle*, as his peculiar contrivance was called. The plans of this vessel were carefully examined a few years ago by Commander F. W. Barber, U. S. N., whose conclusion was that "it seems to have been the most perfect thing of its kind that has ever been constructed, either before or since the time of Bushnell." Bushnell invented not only the first submarine boat of which there is any intelligent record, but the first torpedo as well. He discovered the principle of modern torpedo-mining—that is, the utilization of the pressure of the water to develop the desirable intensity of action in an explosion near the vessel to be destroyed. Furthermore, he was the first man to give the torpedo its modern name. All these triumphs he accomplished while an undergraduate student at Yale.

He gathered an assemblage of what he called "the first personages in Connecticut" to prove to them that this strange thing could be done. He first exploded two ounces of powder four feet under water, and later blew up a hogshead filled with stones, a wooden bottle, and a two-inch oak plank, greatly to the astonishment of his learned associates. After this preliminary display of what he could do, young Bushnell's theories were held in greater respect throughout the rest of his college course. He had one great idea, however, and this was the possibility of constructing a boat that could sail under the enemy's ship, attach to it a magazine with a sufficient charge of powder to destroy the vessel and all its men—the

operator, meanwhile, getting safely away. He kept hard at work throughout his four undergraduate years, and by the time he was graduated had constructed such a machine and experimented with the most encouraging success.

He finished his vessel at an opportune time. He had its complicated mechanism complete and in fine running order when the Declaration of Independence was signed, and the war between England and America was under full way. He naturally had some difficulty in gaining a respectful hearing from the leading men on the colonial side. Although afterwards he was praised by Washington as "a man of great mechanical powers, fertile in inventions, and a master of execution," his first real encouragement came from another Connecticut man, Israel Putnam. Bushnell explained his contrivance to Putnam, who after carefully examining the vessel, was much struck with its ingenuity and its possibilities of success. He gave the young inventor full permission to go ahead, and declared his intention of being present at the first trial.

The occasion for this preliminary experiment was soon at hand. The movements of General Washington about Long Island had been accompanied by the arrival of a large British fleet from Halifax under Admiral Lord Howe, brother of the commander of the British army. Putnam had been left with 4000 men in New York, and sent for Bushnell, inviting him to test his submarine boat against one of the enemy's ships. Bushnell was himself physically incapacitated from managing his machine, for it required considerable strength. He had, however, taught his brother its fine points, and the latter in many trials had demonstrated his skill. At the critical time, however, the latter fell ill of a fever and a substitute had to be found. Ezra Lee of Lyme, Conn., was finally decided upon as the fittest man for the place. Lee had already volunteered to go in a fire-ship, and his bravery was unquestioned. Bushnell spent several days teaching Lee the management of the boat—altogether too short a time, as subsequent events showed. The British fleet lay a little above Staten Island, the flagship, against which it was determined to operate being the *Eagle*.

It was a queer craft, the like of which no man had ever seen, in which Ezra Lee embarked one dark night in August, 1776, with the firm intention of destroying the pick of the British fleet. Its shape suggested a turtle or rather two upper turtle shells, securely fastened together. A brass crown, resembling a hat, represented the head of the

turtle; it was provided with glass windows, which supplied light while the boat was on the surface, and with several round doors, which were opened before submersion for the admission of air. The turtle rested in the water with its tail downwards, being held in position by a permanent lead ballast in the hold of 500 pounds. This was supplemented by 200 pounds of the same metal, which could be released at the will of the navigator, enabling him to rise suddenly to the surface. The turtle was made of oak, put together in the strongest manner; it was seven and one-half feet long and six feet high. It admitted only one person, who had room enough either to stand up or sit down. There were two air-tubes, one for letting the fresh air in and another for letting the foul air out. These were ingeniously arranged so that they operated whenever the boat was brought to the surface and closed immediately after it was submerged. There were no means of generating or supplying air while the contrivance was under water. Sufficient atmosphere to last the operator thirty minutes was supplied before the trial began, after the exhaustion of which he was obliged to rise to the surface.

The question of light presented a still greater difficulty. A candle exhausting the air too rapidly, Bushnell was obliged to find some less embarrassing substitute. He finally noted the points of the compass by two pieces of fox-fire wood—that is, wood that emitted a phosphoric light. The same method was used to determine the depth of the water. For this Bushnell constructed a peculiar contrivance, the secret of which is unknown, consisting of a glass tube, filled with water, in which a cork floated up and down. This cork was also covered with fox-fire, and by its rise and fall the operator could determine the depth to which his vessel was submerged. The boat was propelled back and forth by a paddle in front, shaped like the arm of a windmill. The operator turned this with a crank, and could go either forwards or backwards, as he desired. It was precisely the same principle as the modern screw, with the exception that it was placed in the bow instead of the stern of the boat. Another "oar," identically the same, was arranged at right angles with the first, by means of which the vessel could be guided up or down. The progress of the boat was necessarily slow, but it is said that a strong man, with a favoring tide and current, could propel it three knots an hour. The rudder, also turned by a crank, could be used for sculling when desired. In the bottom of the vessel were two large water tanks, into which the water was let by a spring. It was by this means that the boat made its descent. There were two pumps, which the operator worked with his feet, for the



expulsion of the water when he desired to rise. In case these failed to work, the two hundred pounds of lead on the bottom could be released, after which the rise was very sudden. The operator sat upright, with his head in the crown of the vessel, and by a dexterous use of his hands and feet, had little difficulty in completely mastering his boat. It required considerable practice, however, and unusual strength.

This was Bushnell's submarine boat, but it was only one feature of his invention. His other discovery, the torpedo, was ingeniously combined with his vessel. On the stern of the boat, just above the rudder, on the outside, was a large cask, made of two pieces of oak, carefully caulked and tarred, and bound together with iron. The interior was dug out and contained a charge of powder. Within was a gun-lock, which was arranged to strike fire whenever a clock-work attachment ran down. The magazine was fastened to the boat by a screw, which could be unscrewed from within. It was contrived so that when the magazine should be disengaged from the vessel the clock-work should be set agoing. The clock-work ran down in about thirty minutes, when the gun-lock went off and ignited the charge. A short cable attached the magazine to another screw in the top of the vessel. From within the operator could fasten this screw into the bottom of a vessel and fill his own boat at the same time. He could, therefore, sail safely away, leaving the magazine attached to the bottom of the enemy's man-of-war, and await developments.

There was no evident reason why the attempt upon the *Eagle* should not have a satisfactory issue. Sergeant Lee was obliged to wait several nights for a favorable opportunity. Finally, at eleven o'clock one night in August, he embarked on his dangerous voyage. General Putnam was on the wharf when he pushed off, and kept a constant watch throughout the next few hours. Lee was towed by whale-boats as near the ships as the oarsmen dared to go, and was then cast off. He discovered that it was too early to make the attempt. The tide was running strong, and, in spite of all that he could do, it carried him far beyond the ships. He rowed aimlessly around until the tide slowed up, when he made directly for the man-of-war. He drew so near under the stern of the ships that he could see the British sailors and hear their voices. At a favorable moment he let the water into the reservoirs and sank. Everything up to this point worked splendidly. He had no difficulty in managing his boat under the water, and took up a favorable position directly under the keel of the man-of-war, near the stern. He at once proceeded to attach the

screw to the bottom of the vessel, when he struck a formidable opposition. He had not figured on the copper with which the bottom of the ship was covered, and which resisted all his attempts to fasten the screw. At every attempt the boat rebounded from the vessel's bottom. Lee finally moved to another part of the ship, and in so doing lost his hold completely, and rose with tremendous velocity to the surface. He came within two or three feet of the man-of-war, upon whose destruction he had been bent—a rather uncomfortable circumstance, especially as it was nearly daylight. He at once, therefore, filled the reservoirs and sank again. As it would soon be morning, however, and as he had four miles to row, he decided to abandon his attempt to blow up the man-of-war, and instead to look out for his own safety. Bushnell never blamed Lee for his failure to execute the plan, owing to the fact that he had had such slight preparation for the task.

There was naturally much disappointment over this initial failure, and especially when a British frigate came up and anchored off Bloomingdale, and Lee made another equally unsuccessful attempt. His intention this time was to go up to the stern of the vessel and, without sinking, screw in his magazine close to the edge. Discovered by the watch, he dove under the frigate, but went too deep and came up on the other side. In the year 1777, however, Bushnell sent one of his machines against the *Cerberus*, a British frigate, lying at anchor between New London and the mouth of the Connecticut River. The machine instead fell in with a schooner, anchored astern of the frigate, which had escaped Bushnell's observation. It blew up the schooner, completely demolishing it, and killed three men. Bushnell was very much cast down by the failure of his contrivance, which he believed had never had a fair show. At the end of the war he went to France, and was present during the stirring scenes of the Revolution. His relatives lost all track of him, and supposed that he had died in a French prison or upon the guillotine, until, in 1826, they received information of his death in Georgia.

B. J. HENDRICK.

## ANTHONY WALTON WHITE

[*Concluded from January Number.*]

**A**T the end of the "Western Insurrection," in 1794, General White issued the following address to the troops:

BEDFORD (PA.), *December 5, 1794.*

The dismissal and sudden departure of the Cavalry, by Troops, from Pittsburgh to their respective states and counties, prevented the General of Cavalry from conveying in Orders, at that place and period; the thanks and good wishes of the Commander-in-Chief, so handsomely and friendly expressed in the following extract from his Excellency's last Orders, viz.: "To the Officers of every description he presents his warmest thanks, for the faithful and able support which he has derived from their exertion, in every stage of the execution of the objects intrusted to his direction; and he intrusts them to convey to his fellow-soldiers, in the most lively terms, his respectful attachment, and his best wishes for their safe return, and happy meeting with their friends."

This praise, though flattering and justly due, cannot equal the self-approbation every good citizen must experience, who has taken so decided a part to check rebellion, restore order, and establish the best of Constitutions. The nature of Cavalry service directed the propriety of ordering a separation of the Brigade, after passing the mountains, and now affords the General an opportunity of congratulating those officers, who were favoured with separate commands, on the success attending the design of the separation; as it must be acknowledged, that the Brigade of Cavalry, with those three very respectable Troops from the city of Philadelphia, commanded by Captains Dunlap, Singer, and M'Connel, capturing in one day, and almost at the same hour, every Insurgent of the western counties of Pennsylvania, who had not previously fled from Justice, or signed a submission to the laws to which they had so basely encouraged an opposition. The complete execution of this enterprise expresses, in lively colours, the great address of the Cavalry Officers, and the military prowess of their respective Commands.

Deign, fellow-citizens and brother-soldiers, who have acted under the General's Orders, to accept of his warmest thanks for the cheerfulness and promptitude you have shown in obeying and executing his Orders. The satisfaction he experienced in commanding you can never be erased from his mind. This became sometimes painful, by observing old military rank, gray hairs, wealth, and character, placed, by choice, in a subordinate situation, which unpleasant circumstance could only be removed by beholding, at the same time, such honourable evidence of this fact, that a true American will never embrace considerations of this kind, to shield him from dangers and hardships, when called to support the laws of his country, should they ever again be insulted or opposed by any men or set of men, wickedly combined for that purpose. Dictates of Justice direct the General of Cavalry to request Doctor Charles Smith, Brigade Surgeon; Major Carle, Inspector of the Brigade; Major Samuel Clarkson, Brigade-Quarter-Master, and Major John Striker, Brigade-Forage-Master, to accept his thanks, for the attention they have paid to their respective departments. Acknowledgements are also due from the General to Le Chevalier D'Auterroches, his Aid-de-Camp, and to Brigade-Major Dunham and Coejeman, for their faithful services. Colonels Hubley and Gibbons, who honoured the General with acting under his Orders as volunteer Brigade-Majors, will likewise please to accept his unfeigned thanks for the aid he received from them. Major James Dunham, who has the honour to bring up the rear of the Army, and is intrusted with the deposite of their victories, has fully merited that honour, by the great attention and humanity shown, by him, to those unfortunate prisoners under his immediate charge; which has been often noticed by the General, with the greatest satisfaction, during the march to this place; and speaks in strong language, the goodness of the Major's heart. A continuation of the same attention, with every precaution for the safety of those unhappy instruments of designing men, is warmly recommended, till they shall be delivered up to the Marshal of the state of Pennsylvania. To every individual of the Cavalry, whom the General has had the honour to command, he now bids an affectionate farewell; and sincerely wishes them every domestic happiness.

ANTHONY W. WHITE,  
*Brig. Gen. commanding the Cavalry  
ordered on the western Expedition.*

(FROM CONTEMPORARY PRINTS)

NEW BRUNSWICK, *Feb. 3, 1795.*

On Monday, the 26th, seventy-five officers of the New Jersey cavalry, met in this city and dined together at the White Hall Tavern, His Excellency the Governor and suite honored them with their company at dinner, after which fifteen toasts were drank. The next day all the officers waited on General White, delivered the following address to him, and partook of a cold collation at his house.

SIR.

With unfeigned satisfaction, we embrace this occasion, the earliest we have been able to command, to make our warmest acknowledgements to you for the very polite and friendly sentiment conveyed to us in your last cavalry orders. This public testimony of your partiality to us and interest in our happiness, has been fully evinced in many trying circumstances. Raw and undisciplined as we were, to have met the approbation of one, so complete in military science, cannot but vastly enhance the pleasing sensations we derive, from having lent a willing aid in support of our happy constitution. If we have acted with a degree of reputation to ourselves; if we have rendered service to our country, to you sir, are we much indebted for both these advantages. Your activity, combined with an extensive knowledge of your important duties, have at all times been eminently conspicuous; your zeal for the public good, and an affectionate regard for the honor and happiness of the New Jersey cavalry, have been too well noticed and too sincerely approved, ever to be effaced from our remembrance. To see the man, who has spent years in a continued struggle for freedom, and bled in asserting our dearest rights, again at the call of his country, step forward with that ardent enthusiasm which true liberty ever inspires, did not fail to command our grateful admiration and render us emulous of such virtue. May that sacred flame of liberty which you have been so instrumental in lighting up and supporting, long burn bright in this new world and extend its genial influence from continent to continent, until tyranny shall disappear and the whole world would be emancipated.

Accept sir, our warmest approbation of your conduct and our sincere prayer that your life may be long continued, as useful to your country, an honor to the New Jersey Cavalry, and full of every comfort to yourself.

In behalf of the officers of the New Jersey Cavalry on the late expedition.

BENJ. WILLIAMSON, *Maj.*  
January 27, 1795. Com. 1st. Reg. Jersey Cavalry.

To which the General replied: That the polite and affectionate address of his fellow citizens and brother soldiers, expressing their approbation of his conduct added to the heart felt satisfaction he had already experienced from his late honourable commands, claimed our warmest acknowledgements, and sincerely wish that they might enjoy every happiness and a tender of his friendship and services.

The officers spent several days together in that harmony and true friendship, to be expected only from men warmly interested in the good of their country, and the happiness of each other.

Judge Paterson, Major General Dayton and several gentlemen and officers of character and distinction, visited the social board of this patriotic band of citizen soldiers. We are told that they have appointed Major Williamson of Essex, Major Meeker of Bergen, Major Laddle of Morris, Major Baily of Sussex, Major Carle of Hunterdon, Major Quay of Monmouth, Major Dunham of Middlesex, Captain Vanderveer of Somerset, and Captains Wollcot and Shute of the Western counties, a committee to wait on the Legislature with a memorial, praying redress of certain grievances which the cavalry are subject to, from the present militia law, and that the same may be formed into regiments, we also hear that they have agreed to meet annually, at such time and place as their General may please to fix.

On Thursday last, Anthony Walton White, Esq., Adjutant-General of the Militia of New Jersey, accompanied by Generals Frelinghuysen and Bloomfield, and politely attended by the members of Congress from

this State, waited upon the President of the United States, and, in behalf of the officers of the New Jersey Militia, presented the following address:

SIR.

The Commander-in-Chief, the General Officers, the General Staff and Field Officers of the Militia of the State of New Jersey, feel in common with their numerous fellow citizens who have addressed you in the present critical situation of our nation, and most cordially join them in expressing to you their high approbation of your conduct in the management of its foreign concerns, and their indignation for the insult offered to the honor and independence of the American people.

We come not, Sir, to dictate—whether peace can be preserved with the safety of our national dignity, or whether an appeal is to be made to arms, are questions intrusted to those in whose patriotism we confide, and according to their decision we shall always be prepared to act. But, Sir, at this eventful period, we deem it our duty, and feel it a pleasure, respectfully to approach our Commander-in-Chief, and to make him a solemn proffer of our lives and fortunes in the service of our country. It is not, Sir, for soldiers to boast; but we know the troops whom we have the honor to command; we have been eye witnesses to their zeal in the cause of freedom; we have been their companions in many toils and many sufferings, and if our beloved country calls, we shall again cast the eye of confidence along their embattled ranks.

Let our enemies flatter themselves that we are a divided people. In New Jersey, Sir, with the exception of a few degraded and a few deluded characters, to whose persons and to whose services the invading foe shall be welcome the moment of their arrival, and whom we engage to convey in safety to their lines—in New Jersey, Sir, there is but ONE VOICE, and that is the voice of confidence in the federal government: the voice of perfect satisfaction with your administration of it; and the voice of firmness and determination to support the laws and constitution, the honor and dignity of the United States; and, Sir, for the defence of these, we do this day, in the presence of the God of armies, and in firm reliance in his protection, solemnly pledge to you our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

## COMMANDER IN CHIEF AND GENERAL STAFF OFFICERS

Richard Howell, *Commander-in-Chief.*Anthony W. White, *Adjutant-General.*D. Woodruff, *Sec'ry to Commander-in-Chief.*R. Boggs, *Judge Advocate.*

Aaron Ogden,

J. Rhea,

Mark Thompson,

Aaron Dunham,

B. Loyd,

John Lacey,

Wm. Wykoff,

James F. Armstrong,

John Croes,

John Neilson, *Paymaster General.*James Schureman, *Quarter-Master Gen.*Thomas Lowry, *Commissary General.*} *Aids to Commander-in Chief.*} *Chaplains to Commander-in-Chief.*N. Belleville, *Physician General.*Moses Scott, *Surgeon General.*Charles Smith, *Surgeon of Cavalry.*

## MAJOR GENERALS

Elias Dayton,

Wm. Helmes,

F. Frelinghuysen,

Joseph Bloomfield.

## BRIGADIER GENERALS

John N. Cumming,

Richard Dey,

John Doughty,

James Giles,

Elisha Lawrence,

John F. Morris,

Clarkson Edgar,

John Hilt,

Joseph Brearly,

Franklin Davenport,

John Heard,

A. V. Middlesworth,

Wm. Todd,

Clement Wood,

John Hardenburgh,

Wm. M'Kussack,

John Frelinghuysen,

Gershom Dunn,

Samuel Morford,

John Baird,

J. Veghte,

Andrew Lyle.



## LIEUT. COLONELS

James Heddin,  
 Wm Crane,  
 Jedediah Swan,  
 C. Ford,  
 Jacob Arnold,  
 Wm. W. Bell,  
 Thomas Blanch,  
 Nehemiah Wade,  
 Prudden Alling,  
 Samuel Quay,  
 Wessel T. Stout,  
 Barnes Smock,  
 James Green,  
 Elias Conover,  
 P. J. Stryker,  
 Henry Vanderveer,  
 James Henry,  
 E. Beatty,  
 Robert Ross,  
 Wm. M'Cullough,  
 Chs. Pemberton,  
 David Bishop,  
 David Schamp,  
 John Vancleve,  
 Jona. Black,  
 P. Hunt,  
 Thomas Heston,  
 Joshua L. Howell,  
 Daniel Benszett,  
 Dayton Newcomb,  
 Aula M'Calta,  
 Eli Elmer,  
 Joshua Sihnn,  
 I. Beekman,  
 Andrew Sinnickson,

Phinehas Carman,  
 Joseph Marsh,  
 Andrew M'Dowell,  
 C. Shipmons,  
 Thomas Paul,  
 Wm. Kolberdieu,  
 Wm. Gasill,  
 John M'Peck,  
 Richard Edsall,  
 Elias Ogden,  
 Solomon Broderick,  
 John Stevens,  
 John Stevenson,  
 Charles Reading,  
 Jona. Smith,  
 Jona. Porter,  
 Wm. Dumont,  
 Samuel Becks,  
 Robert Lucas,  
 Joseph M'Ilvaine,  
 Wm. Pearson,  
 John Lawrence,  
 Samuel I. Keer,  
 Wm. Dick,  
 John Forman,  
 Albemarle Collins,  
 Joel Gibbs,  
 Thomas Wilkins,  
 Samuel Flaningham,  
 E. L. Whitclock,  
 Nathaniel Beach,  
 Matt Williamson, Jun.  
 Wm. Dayton,  
 Wm. Shute,  
 David Clark,  
 Nathan Ford.

## MAJOR COMMANDANTS

Peter Keenon,  
 Ralph P. Lott,

James Dunham,

## MAJORS

Cornelius Hoagland,  
Benjamin Jackson,  
James Craig,  
Thomas Little,  
Isaac Kip,  
Jon. Vanbueren,  
Samuel Reading,  
Hiram Smith,  
E. Vangelden,  
James Conover,  
James Cox,  
Samuel P. Forman,  
Gared Stillwell,  
John Stillwell,

John Budd,  
Wm. Colfax.  
Abraham Pust,  
Marmaduke Stokes,  
John Tice,  
James Williams,  
Enoch Leeds,  
Ephraim Buck,  
Almerain Brooks,  
Morris Beasley,  
Jacob Hussy,  
Robert G. Johnson,  
Richard Fisher,  
Wm. Gordon Forman,  
J. H. Imlay.

To which the President returned the following:

## ANSWER:

*To the Commander-in-Chief, the General Officers, the General Staff and Field Officers of the State of New Jersey.*

## GENTLEMEN:

Among all the numerous addresses which have been presented to me, in the present critical situation of our nation, there has been none which has done me more honor, none animated with a more glowing love of our country, or expressive of sentiments more determined and magnanimous. The submission you avow to the civil authority, an indispensable principle in the character of warriors in a free government, at the same moment when you make a solemn proffer of your Lives and Fortunes in the service of your country, is highly honorable to your dispositions as Citizens and Soldiers, and proves you perfectly qualified for the duties of both characters. Officers and Soldiers of New Jersey have as little occasion as they have disposition to boast. Their country has long boasted of their ardent zeal in the cause of freedom and their invincible intrepidity in the day of battle.

Your voice of confidence and satisfaction, of firmness and determination to support the laws and Constitution of the United States, has a charm in it irresistible to the feelings of every American bosom; but, when in the presence of the God of armies, and in firm reliance on his protection, you solemnly pledge your lives and fortunes and sacred honor, you have recorded words which ought to be indelibly imprinted in the memory of every American youth.—With these sentiments in the hearts, and this language in the mouths of Americans in general, the greatest nation may menace at its pleasure, and the degraded and deluded characters may tremble lest they should be condemned to the severest punishment an American can suffer—that of being conveyed in safety within the lines of an invading enemy.

JOHN ADAMS.

Philadelphia, May 31st, 1798.

---

A. S. GRAHAM.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.



## WHERE ARE EVANGELINE AND GABRIEL BURIED?

**T**HE priests and sextons of old St. Joseph's, St. Mary's and Holy Trinity Churches, of Philadelphia, are often called upon by visitors to the city, to point out the grave of Evangeline and her lover, Gabriel, the delightful creatures of Longfellow's fancy, in relating the expulsion of the Acadians from their happy homes and their dispersion along the coast of the British provinces.

Of course, Gabriel and Evangeline are buried nowhere, as they never existed, save in the imagination of the poet. The poem he calls "A Tale of Acadie," a "mournful tradition still sung by the pines of the forest." Still, it is astonishing that so many who have read the poem have believed in the actuality of the tradition in its relation of chief characters, in its Evangeline and her lover, and have sought their graves at these three Catholic graveyards. St. Joseph's now has no burial ground attached to the church. It had originally, but after 1759 the dead of the congregation were interred in the ground across the street, and, after 1763, called St. Mary's Street.

Longfellow's poem represents the time of the meeting, death and burial, as occurring during a pestilence. This was the yellow fever of 1793, as no general epidemic had occurred in the city from the time of the coming of the Acadians in November, 1755, until that awful pestilence of 1793 ravaged the city.

But St. Joseph's, in that year, had no burial ground at the church. The latest interment I know of was that of Father Farmer, August, 1786. Perhaps a few persons holding lots might have been permitted to inter in that graveyard after the opening of St. Mary's ground in 1759, but most unlikely that Gabriel, an inmate of the city almshouse, would have been brought there for burial, and later Evangeline laid in a grave "side by side" by his.

So, though Old St. Joseph's—mainly because it is called Old, and because of the nearness of the Quakers' Almshouse (torn down in 1874), which many have supposed to have been the almshouse Longfellow had in mind—is the most probable place of the burial of the lovers, in the belief

of many, including usually well informed "Penn," of the *Evening Bulletin*, who, on October 12, 1898, declared that as Evangeline had long been a Sister, who knew the city and its seamy side, she, like a good Catholic, could have saved his body from being buried in the potter's field, and would have carried it to the ground of Old St. Joseph's.

(It is to be remarked that Philadelphia had no Sisters of Mercy then, nor Sisters of any Order until 1814, when the Sisters of Charity came from Mrs. Seton's to take charge of St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, on Sixth Street.)

St. Mary's, on Fourth Street, almost directly opposite to St. Joseph's, is not so often called at nor so frequently assigned as the supposed place of interment.

To the opinions of those, who have supposed that either of these "churchyards" was the one Longfellow had in mind when writing the poem, I, years ago suggested that Holy Trinity Churchyard, on Sixth Street, was the most likely place—the place most probable—the one which Longfellow saw and years after had in mind.

The City Almshouse, at the time of the fever in 1793, was on Spruce Street, south side, from Tenth to Eleventh Streets.

It was there when, in 1824, Longfellow visited the city.

On the same street from Eighth to Ninth, was then, and is now, the Pennsylvania Hospital. Longfellow doubtless saw both, and the recollection of either came to him when writing the poem, as the place where Gabriel, dying, was attended to by Evangeline, in the city poorhouse. Though there has been discussion as to which of these institutions Longfellow had in mind, it could not be settled, because the poet, in writing to Charles H. A. Esling, Esq., of Philadelphia, now a resident of Germany, could not himself tell what building he had in mind.

But the point with us is as to where the lovers were buried. They have so impressed countless thousands, that one may almost consider them as actual personages, who lived and moved and died, and were buried in our city—but where?

When it is remembered that the Pennsylvania Hospital and the City Almshouse were both on Spruce Street, and that either of these could have been the scene of the meeting of Evangeline and Gabriel, what is more

probable, that, as Longfellow walked Spruce Street, in 1824, he could, at the western entrance of Holy Trinity church have glanced at the passageway to the entrance of the church and seen as you can to-day see, the little churchyard attached to it? Then passing eastward, to Sixth Street, and turning northward, he had to pass the church, when again he saw "the little Catholic churchyard"—the only such in the city in 1824, and the smallest even to-day.

Remember, Longfellow, in describing the burial place of the lovers, wrote:

"Side by side, in their nameless graves, the lovers are sleeping,  
Under the humble walls of the little Catholic churchyard.  
In the heart of the city, they lie, unknown and unnoticed;  
Daily the tides of life go ebbing and flowing beside them."

Mind, he says, "the little Catholic churchyard." Many, I fear, have thought of Old St. Joseph's, "the little Catholic church," and so, have assigned to it the burial place, but it is "the little Catholic churchyard," which Longfellow speaks of, and the smallest such which Philadelphia had in 1824, or could have had in 1793, the time of the pestilence, was Holy Trinity, which dates from 1789. It best fills the probabilities in the case: the almshouse at Tenth Street; the hospital at Eighth; the little Catholic churchyard at Sixth Street.

The word "yard," too, is important. He does not say Catholic *graveyard*—but *churchyard*. Holy Trinity best fills the idea of a small space attached to a building—a church—and having the commonly called "yard," a small enclosed place—in this case, at the side of the church, right "under the humble walls." No other Catholic churchyard in 1793, could have been "under the walls" of any church but this. St. Joseph's had ceased to be a place of interment; St. Mary's was, and yet is, a large graveyard. It is not a "little churchyard," and interments cannot be said, even in imagination of poetry, to have been "under the walls" of the church, as big in 1793 as to-day, save by about twenty feet.

While, of course, there was no real Evangeline or Gabriel in Philadelphia, and no real burial anywhere, the sole discussion is confined to the churchyard Longfellow saw, in 1824, and in 1847, had in mind as the burial place of the two. No place so well fills the possibilities, even the probability, as Holy Trinity's "little churchyard," at Sixth and Spruce.

How Longfellow came to write *Evangeline* has been narrated; how Lowell thought the "tradition" a fit one for a story, but that Longfellow desired he be allowed to use it for a poem.

In "The Neutral French or the Exiles of Nova Scotia," by Mrs. Williams, issued in 1841, will be found the same story, but with New York as the scene of action. That doubtless was the source of suggestion to Longfellow.

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

PHILADELPHIA.



## CAPTAIN JAMES DUNCAN'S DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN

**C**OLONEL HAZEN'S regiment was the second regiment of the kind and was known as "Congress's Own," because under authority of a resolution of Congress of January 20, 1776, permission was granted to enlist one thousand Canadians or more for one year, as was done in a previous case under Colonel James Livingston. This regiment was not chargeable to any State, and hence its name, "Congress's Own." The troops were sometimes called "Canadian forces."

Colonel Moses Hazen was appointed Colonel and Edward Antill Lieutenant Colonel, by Congress. In the early part of 1776 about 500 Canadians were secured for the regiment; but the evacuation of Canada reduced the number to less than 100 by the time it reached Albany. Colonels Hazen and Antill then went to Philadelphia to lay the matter before Congress. As a result they received authority to recruit anywhere within the United States. Hazen went to New York and the New England States; Antill to Pennsylvania and the Middle States. The latter was the more successful in securing recruits.

In the early part of 1781 the regiment moved from West Point down the Hudson and joined the army en route for Yorktown, when it participated in the siege. After the surrender of Cornwallis it was ordered to Lancaster, Pa., where for ten months it guarded English prisoners. Then it moved to New York, and was finally disbanded at White Plains in November, 1783.

In this regiment served James Duncan, first as a Lieutenant, commission dated November 3, 1776, and next as Captain, commission dated March 25, 1778.

James Duncan was a native of Philadelphia, where he was born in 1756. He graduated at Princeton College and was studying for the ministry when the war broke out. As related by himself afterward, "The beating of the d— drums past my window made such a noise that I could not study;" so he concluded to enter the army. He became a member of Colonel Hazen's regiment, and continued with it till the close of the war.



For his services he received from Pennsylvania 500 acres of land. This tract was situated in the Shenango valley, in what is now Mercer County. When Adams County, Pa., was formed, Captain Duncan was appointed first Prothonotary, and held the position until 1822. During the twenty-one years he filled this office, he was never beyond the sight of his Court House; and during that time he never opened his office at night nor allowed a candle or lantern to be used in his office, so carefully did he regard his duty to preserve the public records.

Captain Duncan removed to Mercer County, Pa., in 1822, and lived there to the time of his death, which occurred June 24, 1844, in his 89th year.

The diary which is here presented was kept by Captain Duncan with great care. As a scholarly man and a good military officer, he was thoroughly competent to make careful and reliable observations. These memoranda were in his own handwriting. From this record the author of this paper made an exact copy in 1899, and it is an important contribution to the history of the Siege of Yorktown.

## THE DIARY PROPER

CAMP BEFORE YORK, Oct. 2, 1781.—It may not be amiss to take notice of a few remarkable occurrences prior to the commencement of this journal. The army were never so universally deceived in regard to the operations of the campaign as at this time. New York was thought to be the object, and no maneuver left untried to confirm this opinion, when all on a sudden, the army decamped from W. Plains, crossed the North river, and proceeded by a circuitous route to Springfield, in New Jersey, where, after a halt of a few days (in order the better to deceive the enemy), they took their route for Trenton, at which place the artillery stores with our regiment and some other troops embarked. We were now no longer at a loss to know our place of destination. We arrived at Christiana Bridge and thence marched by land to the head of Elk, where the French troops with the rest of our army joined us in a very short time. Here we were delayed for 6 or 7 days, being busily employed in embarking ordnance stores of all kinds on board the vessels. In the meantime the French troops with some other corps of our army proceeded by land for Baltimore. The bay not being able to furnish a sufficient number of vessels, the Rhode Island regiment with ours was obliged to embark on board a number of flat-bottomed boats, which had been constructed at Albany and brought to this place. We set out on this arduous and very hazardous undertaking about Sept. 15 and arrived at Williamsburg the 26th. On our

passage, we hugged close the Western shore, but the many bays and mouths of rivers we were obliged to cross rendered it exceedingly dangerous. I think the rivers in their order were as follows, viz: Elk, Susquehannah, Petapsco, Severn, Patuxent, Potomac, Rappahannock, Pequankitank, York and James. The bays were numerous. Among the largest is Mock Jack,<sup>1</sup> better than 20 miles across.

The weather in general was very favorable excepting at the time of our crossing the mouth of Rappahannock, when on a sudden, a furious wind arose, which occasioned a very rough sea. A number of boats were dismasted, sails torn to pieces, and the whole in the utmost distress. We, however, all made round the point into a safe harbor, excepting Colonel Antill<sup>2</sup> who, missing the point, was obliged to stretch for Given's island. After repairing our rigging it was determined to proceed a safer course than that which Colonel Antill took, by sailing across Pequankitank bay into the mouth of a river which forms Given's island. In this attempt I shipped water several times and had all my sail torn to pieces. Some of the boats were more prudent and did not cross that day. However, we all arrived safe, and were detained there two days by the storm. Three vessels sailing in the bay were the same day foundered. A miraculous escape! I cannot but mention the very polite treatment we received from the inhabitants of Given's island.

I have said we arrived at Williamsburg the 26th; the 27th and 28th were detained at this place in making preparations for the siege, and on the 29th the allied army moved down toward York (distant from Williamsburg about 12 miles), and made a short halt about two miles distant from the enemy's outworks when a few shots were fired from the French pieces at some of Tarleton's horse, who immediately dispersed. In the course of the night three deserters came in with little or no intelligence that could be depended on. On the morning of the 30th we had orders to approach the enemy's works. After marching a short distance we were ordered to load, and proceed within half a mile of the enemy's works on the left. One brigade of infantry was halted, while the First brigade, commanded by Gen. Muhlenburg, crossed a small morass and paraded in order of battle, marched a small distance in front; but the enemy not firing, they wheeled to the right and took their post in the line; a picket was now turned out (the better to favor reconnoitering parties) which advanced in front nearly half way to the enemy, until they were obliged to retreat by the fire of a field piece from the enemy's works. (It was said his excellency, the commander-in-chief, was in front of this picket the whole time reconnoitering.) The sentries were, however, continued at their posts and regularly relieved the whole day. One of the sentries was so unfortunate as to receive a wound on his foot from a cannon ball, which obliged the surgeons to make an immediate amputation of his leg. We sustained

<sup>1</sup> (Now Mobjack).

<sup>2</sup> Edward Antill, who was with Arnold at Quebec. This is the first mention of him in active service that I have seen after that time.—(Ed.)

no other harm from their firing, although they frequently overshot us. The remainder of the day was employed in reconnoitering the enemy; and toward evening the whole army encamped nearly on the ground they had before occupied. Before we proceed it may be proper now to take some notice of the different corps and the arrangement of the army. The Marquis de Lafayette's division of L. infantry, composed of Muhlenburg's and Hazen's brigades on the right of the front line, and nearest the enemy; the Baron Steuben's division, composed of the Marylanders, Pennsylvanians and Virginians on the left of the front line. The Jersey troops in the rear of the infantry, & the York in rear of Steuben's division, with the park of artillery and sappers and miners in the center, forming the second line; the militia forms the corps de reserve, and the French troops, commanded by Count Rochambeau, on the left of the whole. We passed this night with little or no disturbance from the enemy, but guess our agreeable surprise when on the morning of the ensuing day (Oct. 1) we found the enemy had evacuated all their front works, and retreated about half a mile. We knew of no other way to account for this than that their works being too extensive and weak, they were afraid of a storm.

This morning Col. Scammel<sup>3</sup> was unfortunately wounded and taken by the enemy, as he was too closely reconnoitering, and sent on parole to Williamsburg. No sooner were the enemy's works evacuated than they were taken possession of by our pickets, supported by the whole army, who marched up for that purpose, and continued on the lines a great part of the day, although the enemy at certain times fired very briskly from their pieces. About 8 o'clock this morning the French grenadiers attacked and carried a small battery, with the loss of four killed and six wounded. Ten companies were ordered out early this morning for fatigue, of which I had the honor to command one. Until 11 A. M. we were employed in cutting and stripping branches for gabions. On being furnished with shovels, spades, pickaxes, etc., we were ordered up to the lines, where we continued inactive until about an hour before sunset. In the meantime, the engineers were employed in reconnoitering the enemy's works, and fixing on proper places to break the first ground. Let me here observe that the enemy by evacuating their works had given us an amazing advantage, as the ground they left commanded the whole town, and

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Scammell was born in Mendon (now Milford), Mass., in 1746; died in Williamsburg, Va., Oct. 6, 1781. Having graduated at Harvard in 1769, he taught for a year or two. In 1772 he was employed at Portsmouth, N. H., in surveying and exploring operations. Having studied law with General Sullivan, he assisted him in his legal business for a time.

Dec. 10, 1776, he became Colonel of 3rd N. H. regiment, but was soon transferred to the 1st regiment. Was wounded at Saratoga, Jan. 5, 1778, while serving under General Gates. In 1780 he was appointed Adjutant General of the army, and became a member of Washington's staff. Preferring active field work, he was assigned again to the command of his regiment. As officer of the day, Sept. 30th, he was employed in reconnoitering the enemy's position at Yorktown. He was captured by Hessian dragoons and was treacherously and mortally wounded by them after his surrender. He was the highest American officer killed during the siege. His loss was universally felt and expressed.

nothing but the reasons before alleged could have justified them in so doing, as by contrary conduct they must have very much retarded the operations of the siege.

The engineers having fixed on and chained off the ground in two different places to erect their works within point blank shot of the enemy, the parties were called on. Five companies were ordered to an eminence on the right and five to another on the left. It happened to be my fate to be stationed on the left, a place the most dangerous of the two, as it was nearest to the enemy, and more exposed to the fire from the enemy's batteries [enemies batteries—copy]. We were now conducted to a small hollow near the ground. Five men were ordered by the engineer to assist him in clearing away the rubbish, staking out and drawing the lines of the work. This was in the face of open day, and the men went with some reluctance; a little before this we had a shot from the enemy which increased their fears. At dusk of evening we all marched up, and never did I see men exert themselves half so much or work with more eagerness. Indeed, it was their interest, for they could expect nothing else but an incessant roar of cannon the whole night. I must confess I too had my fears, but fortunately for us they did not fire a shot that whole night. I am at a loss to account for it, for the moon shone bright, and by the help of their night glasses they must certainly have discovered us. We were relieved about daybreak, and scarcely had we left the trenches when the enemy began their fire on both works from three pieces.

*Oct. 2.*—The works were so far finished in the course of the preceding night that the men worked in them this day with very little danger, although the enemy kept up an almost incessant fire from two pieces of artillery. A drummer, rather too curious in his observation, was this day killed with a cannon ball.

*Oct. 3.*—Last night four men of our regiment, detached with the first brigade, were unfortunately killed (on covering party) by one cannon ball; one of the men belonged to my own company (Smith), a loss I shall ever regret as he was, without exception, one of the finest men in the army. A militia man this day, possessed of more bravery than prudence, stood constantly on the parapet and d—his soul if he would dodge for the balls. He had escaped longer than could have been expected, and, growing foolhardy, brandished his spade at every ball that was fired till, unfortunately, a ball came that put an end to his capers. This evening our brigade was ordered for an evening party, and in the course of the night a deserter went to the enemy, informing them of our situation, in consequence of which they directed a few shots our way, but did no harm.

*Oct. 4.*—This morning, on leaving the ground, the enemy were complaisant enough to favor us with a shot, but did no execution. Fatigues were continued in the works as usual, and suffered little or no harm. This day's orders give us an account of Tarleton's defeat on the Gloucester side on the 3d. He was attacked

by Duke Leziome's<sup>4</sup> legion and the militia grenadiers, commanded by Mercer. Tarleton lost 50 men, killed and wounded, the officer who commanded his infantry killed, and himself badly wounded, with very little loss on our side.

Oct. 5.—We had more firing from the enemy last night than any night since the commencement of the siege, but don't learn that they did any other harm than delay the operation of the works. This day the regiment was employed in cutting and making fassines, and a regiment from every brigade in the army ordered out for some extra fatigue duty this evening.

Oct. 6.—The parties did not go out, and nothing extraordinary happened this day.

Oct. 7.—The regiments ordered for the extra duty were last night employed in drawing the line of circumvallation. This line extends itself to the river on each side the town, and at all places nearly equally distant and better than 200 yards in front of the former works. The enemy discovered us, although the night was pretty favorable, but the chief of their fire was directed against the French. They were, no doubt, much astonished in the morning to find themselves so completely hemmed in on all sides, and trenches so deep that we could sustain little or no harm from their fire. The trenches were this day to be enlivened with drums beating and colors flying, and this honor was conferred on our division of light infantry. And now I must confess, although I was fond of the honor, I had some fear, as I had no notion of a covered way, and more especially as I was posted in the center with the colors. We, however, did not lose a man in relieving, although the enemy fired much. The covered way was of infinite service. Immediately upon our arrival the colors were planted on the parapet with this motto: *Manus Haec inimica tyrannis*. Our next maneuver was rather extraordinary. We were ordered to mount the bank, front the enemy, and there by word of command go through all the ceremony of soldiery, ordering and grounding our arms; and although the enemy had been firing a little before, they did not now give us a single shot. I suppose their astonishment at our conduct must have prevented them, for I can assign no other reason. Col. Hamilton gave these orders, and although I esteem him one of the first officers in the American army, must beg leave in this instance to think he wantonly exposed the lives of his men. Our orders were this night that if the enemy made a sortie and attempted to storm the trenches we were to give them one fire from the barquet, rush over the parapet and meet them with the bayonet.

Oct. 8.—Some time before daylight this morning we were very much surprised at the conduct of a picket that had been posted some little distance in front of our works. They were fired upon by the enemy, never returned a single shot and retreated into our works in the utmost disorder. Captain Weed, who commanded the picket, was again ordered out, but the enemy had retired. How he will be answerable for his conduct time will discover as I dare say he will soon be

<sup>4</sup> Duc de Lauzun.

obliged to give an account. One man of our picket was killed, though some think it was by our men, as there had been other parties ordered out.

The fire of the enemy was this day chiefly directed against the parties employed in erecting batteries. We were relieved about 12 o'clock and sustained no harm during our tour excepting two men badly wounded; but we had scarcely left the trenches when a man working on the parapet had his arm shot off. As soon as we arrived in camp we changed our ground further to the right. Nothing extraordinary happened the remainder of the day.

*Oct. 9.*—Last night the troops in the trenches, as well as a great part of this day, were busily employed in finishing the batteries, and about 4 o'clock this afternoon an American battery was opened, consisting of three 24-pounders, three 12's and four 10-inch mortars. The enemy's fire was chiefly directed against this battery, and the others that were nearly finished.

*Oct. 10.*—Last night the men were busily employed in finishing the batteries, and early this morning four more were opened against the enemy, viz.: One American battery on our left, consisting of four 18-pounders; the grand French battery, consisting of 11 24-pounders, two 13-inch mortars, two howitzers, and six 10-inch mortars; and another French battery of four 18-pounders and two howitzers. The fourth is on the left of the French, but am not able as yet to ascertain the number of guns. About 12 o'clock this day our division relieved the trenches, and from that time the enemy fired but very little until the evening. This afternoon our American bomb battery was opened of four 10-inch mortars. A flag came out with Secretary Nelson. He informs us our fire did great execution last night; that we had killed 11 or 12 of their officers, that his black servant was killed by his bedside, and that the first gun fired killed two commissarys as they were sitting at their wine.

*Oct. 11.*—Last night commenced a very heavy cannonade, and the enemy returned the fire with no less spirit. Being apprehensive of a storm, they often fired in every direction. The largest of the enemy's vessels was set on fire by the bursting of a shell or a red hot ball from some of our batteries, and communicated it to another, both of which were burnt down. They must have lost a considerable quantity of powder in the last, as there was an explosion which made a heavy report. The whole night was nothing but one continual roar of cannon, mixed with the bursting of shells and rumbling of houses torn to pieces. As soon as the day approached the enemy withdrew their pieces from their embrazures and retired under cover of their works, and now commenced a still more dreadful cannonade from all our batteries without scarcely any intermission for the whole day. We were relieved about noon this day, and went home very much fatigued.

*Oct. 12.*—Last night we began the second parallel and extended it better than half round the enemy. This parallel is better than three hundred yards in front of the other, and close upon the enemy's right works. No sooner had the

morning made its appearance and the enemy discovered our very near approach, than they commenced a very heavy fire from the batteries and in the course of the day no little surprised us by opening five royals, as we were in hopes they had no shells, by their not giving them on the first parallel.

Oct. 13.—Last night we were employed in strengthening the line, and began a French battery and a redoubt. We lost several men this night, as the enemy by practice were enabled to throw their shells with great certainty. About noon this day our division relieved the trenches, and about 2 o'clock advanced to the second parallel. Capt. White and one private of Col. Wee's regiment were this day killed by a horizontal shell. The militia suffered much this afternoon.

Oct. 14.—The enemy last night kept up a continual blaze from several pieces of cannon of nine royals and some howitzers. Early in the night the fire was chiefly directed against the French, who were just on our left, but about 10 o'clock our people [began] to erect a battery. They soon discovered us, and changed the direction of their fire. It happened to be our lot to lie in the trenches just in the rear of the battery exposed to all their fire; and now were I to recount all the narrow escapes I made that night it would almost be incredible. I cannot, however, but take notice of a remarkable and miraculous one indeed. About midnight the sentry called "A shell!" I jumped up immediately to watch the direction, but had no suspicion of its coming so near until it fell in the center of the trench, within less than two feet of me. I immediately flung myself on the banques among some arms, and although the explosion was very sudden and the trench as full of men as it could possibly contain, yet not a single man was killed and only two of my own company slightly wounded. I should not forget here that Capt. Hughes and Dr. Anderson, two intimate friends and very worthy officers, were sitting close by me at this time. We all counted it a most miraculous escape. Fatigue parties were still continued at work in the open face of day at the battery, although they suffered much. Ten men of Col. Barber's regiment were killed and wounded in a very few minutes, five of whom belonged to Capt. Pry's camp. Our division was relieved about 12 o'clock, and on our march home two of our men were wounded by the bursting of a shell. About 5 o'clock this day we were again ordered for the trenches.

Oct. 15.—I have just said we were ordered yesterday to the trenches. The French grenadiers were ordered out the same time, and all for the purpose of storming two redoubts on the enemy's left. Our division arrived at the deposite of the [copy defective.—J.] a little before dark where every man was ordered to disencumber himself of his pack. The evening was pretty dark and favored the attack. The column advanced, Col. Guinot's<sup>5</sup> regiment in front and ours in the rear. We had not got far before we were discovered, and now the enemy opened a fire of cannon, grape shot, shell and musketry upon us, but all to no effect. The

<sup>5</sup> Gimat, aid to LaFayette.

column moved on undisturbed and took the redoubt by the bayonet without firing a single gun. The enemy made an obstinate defense (but what cannot brave men do when determined?). We had 7 men killed and 30 wounded. Among the latter were Col. Guinot, Maj. Barber and Capt. Olney. Fifteen men of the enemy were killed and wounded in the work, 20 were taken prisoners besides Maj. Campbell, who commanded, a captain and one ensign. The chief of the garrison made their escape during the storm by a covered way.

Captain Duncan's diary, it will be observed, closes with the record of October 15. The failure to complete it for the remaining days of the siege is to be accounted for by the fact that he and his command were so actively employed in military operations that neither time nor opportunity to write was afforded him.

Fortunately, we are enabled to complete the record by referring to the "Military Journal of the Revolution," written by Dr. James Thacher (born in Barnstable, Mass., Feb. 14, 1754, died in Plymouth, Mass., May 24, 1844), who as Surgeon's Mate and Surgeon served in the Revolutionary War. As Surgeon of a Massachusetts regiment he was present at the siege of Yorktown. His diary very appropriately supplements Captain Duncan's record. What follows is a condensation:

*Oct. 16.*—Early in the morning, Col. Abercrombie with about four hundred men, made an attack on two unfinished French redoubts, and succeeded in spiking seven or eight pieces of cannon. The French advanced and recaptured the redoubts.

*Oct. 17.*—From the American line of works at least a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were playing upon the British lines, and doing great destruction. The whole peninsula trembled under the incessant thunderings of the immense field pieces. Great destruction was the result. The great havoc upon Cornwallis's position was apparent to his besiegers, compelling him to ask for suspension of hostilities with a view to capitulation.

*Oct. 18.*—It was ascertained that Cornwallis attempted, on the night of the 16th, to escape by crossing to Gloucester Point with a portion of his command. A heavy storm prevented his execution of the plot, and with difficulty his men returned to their positions. On this day Washington communicated the terms of capitulation, and allowed two hours for their acceptance.

*Oct. 19.*—The surrender actually occurs. Gen. O'Hara, as the representative of Cornwallis, who seems to have recoiled from the humiliation of surrender, apologized to Washington for the non-appearance of his chief, and conducted the further operations of the capitulation. General Lincoln on the American side accepted the tokens of surrender.



*Oct. 20*—In general orders Washington thanks officers and men, both French and American, for their services in the campaign.

*Oct. 21*.—This being Sunday, some of the troops participated in divine service. Mr. Evans preaching an appropriate discourse, which was listened to by Generals Lincoln and Clinton.

Yorktown was the site of the closing battle of the American Revolution.

The surrender included 7,247 regular troops, 840 sailors, and 225 guns.

The British loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 550; that of the Americans and French some 300.

W. F. BOOGHER.

WASHINGTON, D. C.



## A PORT OF THE LAST CENTURY

**W**HEN white frosts and keen, starry nights have turned the foliage of the Niagara gorge into a riotous color scheme is the best time to visit Queenston Heights, and walk the grass-grown thoroughfares of the forgotten hamlet at their base.

It is the best time, because the picnic and tourist season is over, and one's contemplation of the beautiful view which every point affords is not disturbed; and as for the cluster of roof-trees lying below, it is more picturesque in its autumnal nakedness.

Three-score years ago this village was the second town of importance in the province of Upper Canada. Named for Queen Charlotte, Queenston began life auspiciously in 1787 with a dock, a distillery, and a tavern; and so rapidly did it grow that the opening century found the dock transformed into a wharf flanked with store-houses, the population doubled, and those infallible signs of prosperity in a new country—a grist- and a saw-mill—running on full time.

Situated at the head of the St. Lawrence route, and at the foot of the Chippewa portage, Queenston had every advantage at the start. It was the natural *dépôt* and point of departure for the western trade, now growing rapidly with the opening of new territory. Across its narrow wharf, and up the Chippewa road, flowed for over a quarter of a century, a continuous tide of traffic, which eddying here, débouched on the near shore of the upper lakes, or spent itself in the wilderness of the far west.

Hither swarmed the motley crowd that follows the hunter's trail and the pioneer's axe—fur-traders, settlers, speculators, Indians, emigrants, and adventurers.

Government land in Canada was very cheap as compared with the price of land in the "States," and this fact alone accounts for the great influx into Canada of Americans, immediately after the close of the War.

This land boom, so wisely fostered, was too soon paralyzed by the War of 1812, and nowhere did the hardships of that war fall more heavily than upon the new port of the lower Niagara. When the hastily-planned and ill-executed assault upon Queenston Heights was made, it was only defended by a small battery upon which a solitary field-piece was

mounted. Those extensive earthworks west of the monument were an afterthought. They were not built until 1814.

General Brock was killed below this redan; and the heaviest fighting must have been along the foot of the ledge. A small cenotaph marks the spot where Brock fell. This little monument is more interesting from the fact that King Edward himself, as Prince of Wales, placed the block in position in 1860.

But for situation, no monument in the country can compare with that which marks the place of General Brock's sepulchre. Standing on the very crown of the Heights, this shaft dominates a wonderful picture. The monument itself is of the usual British type, and the figure surmounting it might be Nelson, so very like is it to that hero's attitude in stone.

The house into which General Brock was carried dying stands, a grey-stone ruin by the untraveled way. Other wounded soldiers besides Brock were carried into that low-roofed house to die. Diagonally across from this place is the house in which Laura Secord was living when she saved the British stores at De Cew's.

It is not generally known that this famous Canadian heroine was born and lived in Massachusetts, until her twentieth year. In 1795 her father, Thomas Ingersoll, a Revolutionary soldier, came to Canada to buy land; and shortly after the family arrived at Niagara, Laura married James Secord of Queenston.

During the second year of the War of 1812, the Niagara frontier of Canada was in possession of the American forces, and American soldiers were billeted upon every family on the border.

Hearing some officers, whom she was thus forced to entertain, discussing a plan for seizing the stores at the De Cew house, some eighteen miles away, she determined to inform the officer in command at that place. It meant a long, dangerous journey on foot, over hill and bog land and through a densely wooded country swarming with hideous savages from the Grand River, the allies of the British. But Laura Secord was equal to the occasion. Though she had started from home before daylight, night overtook her on the journey. Her courage and promptness saved the stores, and the officer in command sent her home under the protection of a guard.

When the Prince of Wales visited Canada he sent her one hundred dollars, the first recognition made of her services to her adopted country.

As we stroll farther along the King's highway we come to the Wads-

worth cottage, a rough-cast dwelling with sills much below the level of the street. This was a tavern at the time of the battle, and in the front room to the left, General Scott was detained as a prisoner. It was here, while waiting for his captors to complete arrangements for his removal to Fort George, that an Indian in the barroom deliberately took aim at the General through the open door, and would have shot him but for the presence of mind of Captain Thaddeus Davis, a British officer, who promptly knocked the gun from the Indian's hands.

Screened by a clump of maples and rank shrubbery that speaks of an old-time garden, is a ruined stone house, rather more pretentious than those that date back to the period of the War. It is spoken of by the townspeople as the "blue-stone house." In this house in 1824 William Lyon Mackenzie printed the first numbers of the *Colonial Advocate*, the first paper printed in Upper Canada.

"We are not in want, neither are we rich," he says candidly in his prospectus. O, golden age! Our strenuous present admits of no such happy medium! Mackenzie is remembered no more as an agitator. The measures of justice for which he contended in the bitterness of poverty and exile, have long since been granted and enjoyed.

If plenty of relics of historic Queenston abound, no trace of its one-time prosperity remains. Gone the shipping and trade along with the store-houses bursting with pelts, and rum, and merchandise. Gone that horse railway to Chippewa, built to relieve congested traffic. Gone the bank, with its funds, and the unlucky thirteen taverns that tradition says lined the principal street. Gone, too, that first bridge that spanned the river, built in 1851, just too late to divert from newer channels the ebbing current of commerce.

The great cataract being more accessible by the Queenston route, all the distinguished visitors to our shores in former years came to this port. Chateaubriand was here as early as 1790. Lafayette, Thomas Moore, the Bourbon princes, and Louis Napoleon saw the town enjoying the topmost wave of prosperity. It is said that Moore's poem beginning, "I knew by the smoke that so gracefully curled," was inspired by the breakfast fire of one of Queenston's houselets.

But if these later annals are more brilliant, they seem to belong less to the Queenston of to-day than that earlier history which gives the delightful old place a notable part in the making of a Great Dominion.

## INDIANA COUNTY NAMES

**T**HE influence of the strong men of any time upon their time and community is strikingly illustrated by a study of the origin of the names of the counties of Indiana, which has just been completed by an old resident of the State after the work of collecting the scattered material in odd moments during the last twenty years. The result as completed shows that seventy-eight of the ninety-two counties were named after men prominent nationally or locally, in war and in peace; men of foreign birth and foreign training, of foreign birth and native training, and native birth and native training. And the strong influence of men whose personality so dominated small communities, men whose names have not been handed down as taking part in the affairs of the nation, is shown by the fact that of the seventy-eight men whose names have been given to counties of the State, forty-one were men whose life and work, influential as it must have been in the particular communities wherein they lived, were not of sufficient prominence to save them from almost utter oblivion in State or National history.

Of the thirty-eight counties that have been named from what might be called well-known men, men of more than local prominence, seven were named for Presidents of the United States: Madison, Monroe, Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Harrison (William Henry Harrison), and Adams (John Quincy Adams); sixteen were named for men prominent in military history—Clark, for George Rogers Clark; Decatur, for the commodore; De Kalb, for the famous German of Revolutionary days; Fayette, for La Fayette; Marion, for General Francis Marion; Morgan, for General Daniel Morgan; Perry and Porter, for Commodores Perry and Porter; Pulaski, for the Polish soldier; Putnam, for General Israel Putnam; Steuben, for Baron Steuben; Wayne, for "Mad Anthony"; Kosciusko, for the Polish soldier; Knox, for General Knox, one of the first secretaries of war; Greene, for General Nathaniel Greene; Warren, for General Joseph Warren, who fell at Bunker Hill, and Stark, for Captain John Stark, victor at the battle of Bennington.

Six signers of the Declaration of Independence were honored in the naming of counties—Huntington, Carroll, Franklin, Hamilton, Hancock,

and Jay. De Witt Clinton is honored in the naming of Clinton County. The eight other counties named for men of more than local prominence are Benton, after Thomas H. Benton; Boone, after the frontiersman; Clay, after Henry Clay; Fulton, after the inventor of the steamboat; Marshall, after the great Chief Justice; Henry, after Patrick Henry; Jennings, after Jonathan Jennings, Indiana's first governor, and Posey, another governor, appointed to succeed Harrison.

Howard County is the only Indiana county that has changed its name. Its first name was Francisville, the name of a famous Indian chief, but on account of the universal esteem in which Colonel T. A. Howard, a prominent citizen of the community, was held, the name was changed.

Grant County was named for two Grant brothers, Samuel and Moses, early settlers in this region. Parke, for Benjamin Parke, one of the earliest of the educators in the State. He founded the State Law Library, was the first president of the Indiana Historical Society, and coöperated in the founding of the Vincennes Library and University.

Vigo County was named for Colonel Francis Vigo, a Sardinian, whose services were invaluable to General Clark in the capture of Vincennes. The bell now hanging in the court house at Terre Haute was bought with the \$500 set apart in his will to show his appreciation of the people giving his name to the county.

Four counties—Delaware, Miami, Tippecanoe, and Wabash—received Indian names. St. Joseph County was named after the river running through it, named by the early French settlers. Switzerland was so named because most of the early settlers were Swiss, coming to grow grapes on the plan followed in the old country. The scheme failed. Ohio County was named for the river; Lake, for Lake Michigan; Elkhart, for a small island in the river that flows through the county. Laporte was named by the French. Three counties—Orange, Vermilion, and Randolph—were named after counties in other States—Vermilion for an Illinois county directly over the line, Orange and Randolph for North Carolina counties.

Of the remaining counties three were named after men of only local prominence: Allen, for Colonel John Allen, a Kentuckian who fell at the battle of River Raisin; Bartholomew, for General Joseph Bartholomew, State Senator, and identified with the early Indian wars; Blackford,

for a judge of that name; Brown, for General Jacob Brown, one of the heroes of the War of 1812; Cass, for General Lewis Cass.

Crawford County was named for Colonel William Crawford, Washington's land agent in the West, who was finally taken prisoner by the Indians and burned at the stake; Daviess, for Joseph H. Daviess, distinguished lawyer; Dearborn, for General Henry Dearborn, once secretary of war.

Toussaint Dubois, a Frenchman who had charge of the spies under General William Henry Harrison, has the name of Dubois County as a memorial. Floyd County was named after Colonel John Floyd, an old Indian fighter; Fountain, for Major Fountaine of Boone County, Kentucky, who was killed in the battle of Maumee, October 22, 1790.

General John Gibson, after whom the county of that name was called, was secretary of war, who repeatedly acted as territorial governor of the State in the absence of General Harrison. He was taken captive by the Indians, made himself one of them for a long time, finally going blind. Hendricks County was named after William Hendricks, the State's first representative in Congress, and governor from 1822 to 1824.

Jasper County was named after Sergeant Jasper, the Revolutionary hero; Johnson, for John Johnson, one of the early judges of the Supreme Court; Lawrence, for Captain James Lawrence, an esteemed citizen of the community; Martin, after Major Martin, a citizen of Newport, Ky.; Montgomery, for General Richard Montgomery.

There is some question as to the origin of the name of Newton County. Some investigators contend that it was named after a sergeant in the Revolutionary war, while others give the more poetic explanation that at the time of the organization of the county one of the commissioners, who was somewhat of an astronomer, was an ardent admirer of Sir Isaac Newton, and saw that the county was named after him.

Noble County was named after Governor Noble; Owen, after Colonel Owen of Kentucky, who was killed in the battle of Tippecanoe; Pike, after Zebulon M. Pike, killed at the capture of York; Ripley, for General E. W. Ripley, an officer of 1812; Rush, for Dr. Benjamin Rush, a prominent citizen; Scott, for General Charles Scott, the Revolutionary soldier and later governor of Kentucky; Spencer, for Captain Spier Spencer, who fell at the battle of Tippecanoe; Sullivan, for Daniel

Sullivan, who was killed by the Indians on the road from Vincennes to Louisville while carrying public papers; Tipton, for General John Tipton, who served in Congress; Vanderburg, for Henry Vanderburg, captain in the Revolution, member of the Legislative Council of the Northwest, and presiding judge of the first court organized in the Territory; Warrick, for Colonel Jacob Warrick, who fell at Tippecanoe; Wells, for Captain W. H. Wells, killed by the Indians while carrying papers from Fort Wayne to Fort Dearborn, now Chicago; White, for Captain Isaac White, killed at Tippecanoe; and Whitley, for Colonel William Whitley, who was killed in the battle of the Thames.—*Indianapolis News*.





## INDIAN LEGENDS

### IV.

#### THE DANCING GHOSTS

**T**HAT beautiful phenomenon known to the white man as the Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights, is called by the Chippewa Indians *Je-bi-ne-me-id-de-wand*, or the Dancing Ghosts. The legends accounting for it are numerous, and the following, which was related to the translator by a Chippewa hunter, named *Kehes-Chock*, or Precipice Leaper, is quite as fantastic as the phenomenon itself. That it is a very ancient tradition is evident from the fact that the sacrifice to which it alludes has not been practiced by the Chippewas for at least a century (1850).

There was a time when all the inhabitants of the far North were afflicted by a famine. It was in the depth of winter, and the weather had for a long time been so cold that even the white bear was afraid to leave his hiding place. The prairies were so deeply covered with snow that the deer and the buffalo were compelled to wander to a warmer climate, and the lakes and rivers were so closely packed with ice that it was only once in a while that even a fish could be obtained. Such sorrow as reigned throughout the land had never before been known. The magicians and wise men kept themselves hidden in their cabins. The warriors and hunters, instead of boasting of their exploits, crowded around their camp-fires, and in silence meditated upon their unhappy doom. Mothers abandoned their children to seek for berries in the desolate forests, and the fingers of the young women had become stiff from idleness, for they had not any skins out of which to make the comfortable moccasin. From one end of the Chippewa country to the other was heard the cry of hunger and distress. That the Great Spirit was angry with his people was universally believed, but for what reason none of the magicians could tell. The chief of the Chippewas was the oldest man in the nation, and he was consulted in regard to the impending calamity. He could give no reason for the famine, but stated that he had been informed in a dream that the anger of the Great Spirit could be appeased by a human sacrifice. How this should come to pass, however,

he could not tell, and therefore concluded to summon to his lodge all the medicine-men who lived within a day's journey, for the purpose of consulting with them. He did so, and when the council was ended it was proclaimed that three Chippewas should be immediately bound to the stake and consumed. They were to be selected by lot from among the warriors of the tribe; and, when this sad intelligence was promulgated, a national assembly was ordered to convene.

The appointed time arrived, and, in the presence of a large multitude, the fatal lots were cast, and three of the bravest men of the tribe were thus appointed to the sacrifice. They submitted to their fate without a murmur. Whilst their friends gathered around them with wild lamentations, and decked them with the costliest robes and ornaments to be found in all the tribe, the youthful warriors uttered not a word about their untimely departure, but only spoke in the most poetical language of the happy hunting grounds upon which they were about to enter. The spot selected for the sacrifice was the summit of a neighboring hill which was covered with woods. Upon this spot had three stakes been closely erected, around which there had been collected a large pile of dry branches and other combustible materials. To the stakes, at the hour of midnight, and by the hands of the magicians, unattended by spectators, were the three warriors securely fastened. They performed their cruel duty in silence, and the only sounds that broke the stillness of that winter night were the songs and the shoutings of the multitude assembled in the neighboring village. The incantations of the priests being ended, they applied a torch to the faggots, and, returning to their village, spent the remainder of the night in performing a variety of strange and heart-sickening ceremonies.

Morning dawned, and upon the hill of sacrifice was to be seen only a pile of smouldering ashes. On that day the weather moderated, and an unusual number of hunters went forth in pursuit of game. They were all more successful than they had been for many seasons, and there was an abundance of sweet game, such as the buffalo, the bear, and the deer in every wigwam. A council was called, and the patriarch chief proclaimed the glad tidings that the Great Spirit had accepted their sacrifice, and that it was now the duty of his children to express their gratitude by a feast—the fast of *bitter roots*.

The appointed night arrived, and the bitterest roots which could be found in the lodges of the magicians were collected together and made

into soup. The company assembled to partake of this feast, was the largest that had ever been known, and, as they were to conclude their ceremony of thankfulness by dancing, they had cleared the snow from the center of their village. and on this spot were they duly congregated. It was a cold and remarkably clear night, and their watchfires burnt with uncommon brilliancy. It was now the hour of midnight, and the bitter soup was all gone. The flutes and the drums had just been brought out, and the dancers, decked in their most uncouth dresses, were about to enter the charmed ring, when a series of loud shoutings were heard, and the eyes of the entire multitude were intently fixed upon the northern sky, which was illuminated by a most brilliant and unearthly light. It was a light of many colors, and as changeable as the reflections upon a summer sea at the sunset hour. Across this light were constantly dancing three huge figures of a crimson hue, and these did the magicians proclaim to be the ghosts of the three warriors who had given up their bodies for the benefit of their people, and who had thus become great chiefs in the spirit-land. The fire by which their bodies had been consumed had also consumed every feeling of revenge; and ever since that remote period it has been their greatest pleasure to illume by their appearance on winter nights the pathway of the hunters over the snowy plains of the north.

CHARLES LANMAN.



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

---

### LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO DR. STUART

(An important autograph letter of Washington, addressed to Dr. David Stuart, of Fairfax, Va., who was the husband of Mrs. Washington's niece. He gives his views on Government salaries, and mentions Jefferson, and others).

PHILADELPHIA, *March 3rd.*, 1793.

Dear Sir;

The official letter from the Commissioners to me—dated the 8th of last month—promising their sentiments on the subject of compensation, so soon as a meeting was had with Mr Johnson, prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your private letter of the same date and on the same subject, until now; nor shall I do more than slightly touch on it until I receive the further sentiments of the board thereupon. It may not be amiss, however, in this friendly & confidential manner, previously to regret that the expectations of the Commissioners and the opinions of those who were consulted on the compensation proper to be made them for past and future services, should accord so little. It is to be observed (as was mentioned in my last) that the law authorizing the appointment contemplates no pay. Justice however, requires it—and therefore such as it was conceived would meet the concurrence of the public was allotted. In similar cases it rarely happens that high, if any salaries are allowed. Instance the Directors of the Potomac Company—of the Canal Navigation of this State—the Banks, &c &c—I do not quote these cases, however, to prove that salaries ought not to be allowed in the case of the Commissioners of the federal district for the past, and compensation for their future services; but only to shew the necessity of their being as low as could comport with Justice—With respect to your ideas of a future allowance I am bold in assuring you as my opinion that, no fixed salary in the United States (however they have been reprobated for their extravagance), from the Chief Magistrate to the door-keeper of the House of Representatives, is equal to one thousand Dollars clear of expences. The reasons are too obvious to stand in need of enumeration—and I must candidly declare that I see little use for a Superintendent if more will be required of the Commissioners than either to form or to adopt plans;—give the great outlines thereof in Instruction;—and leave the details and execution to the Superintendent, who ought, as I have declared in a letter to you dated the 30th of November last, to be always on the Spot—(unless the duties of the trust should take him away, to facilitate the objects of it)—Under this

idea, could it suit any person better than yourself to visit the federal City once every three or four months—suppose every two months—when you have an Estate opposite to it that has a claim to a share of your attention.—as to the suspicion which may arise—if you serve for daily pay—that your sessions will be prolonged by it, they are not worth regarding—The malevolence of man is not to be avoided.—But instead of *touching* the subject only, in the manner I proposed, I find I am enlarging upon it, and therefore will change it.

Mr Jefferson is at a loss to discover what could have proceeded from him to Mr Ellicott that should have occasioned any discontent in the mind of the latter with the Commissioners;—and having shewn me the *only* letter which (he says) he has written to him for many months I see nothing there on which to found the conjecture contained in the latter part of your letter of the 8th of February.

As I do not take the George Town paper, and have seen no extracts from it in any others, I do not know to what it is you allude—in your letter of the 8 & 18 inst which came to hand a few days ago.—Mr Ellicott has never come near me since his return to the City:—no explanation therefore on this—the case of Mr. Young, or any other subject has taken place between us. With respect to Mr Young's renewed application for a change towards the point, &c. I scarcely know what answer to make at this time.—A change in one instance will, I am certain, open a wide door which could not easily be shut. Therefore before I could consent even to take the matter into consideration it would be necessary to have an accurate plan of the parts, delineated upon paper, with the alterations he proposes; and to have the Commissioners' opinion of the consequences result'g from the adoption of it, in writing; for unless there are some powerful reasons for discrimination, it would be bad policy to comply with the request of one of the Proprietors, and reject the application of another. It is possible, & not improbable that I may be at George Town on my way to Mount Vernon, about the first of April; when, if every thing was prepared for it, I might on the spot be better able to give an opinion. But, as Mr Young is in the occupancy of the whole, I see no cause for hasty decision which may create (if an alteration should take place) discontents in other quarters.—No letter to me, has been received from him yet.

With very great esteem & regard

I am, Dear Sir

Your most obed't & affec't Serv't

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

LETTER OF JOSEPH TRUMBULL (SON OF "BROTHER JONATHAN") TO  
CHRISTOPHER VARICK, DEPUTY MUSTER-MASTER GEN'L FOR  
NORTHERN DEP'T., AT ALBANY, N. Y.

(Joseph Trumbull, 1737-1778, was Commissary General, 1775-1777, when he resigned and died in the following year, worn out by his labors in the public service).

TY (TICONDEROGA) 3rd November, 1776

Dear Sir,

I Received your polite favour of the middle of last month, amid such a hurry of business & Expectation that I omitted answering it—this Day I am Honor'd with your's of the 29th by Major Stewart Nothing mentional has happen'd till this Day we are informed that the Enemy have abandoned Crown Point, Chimney Point, &c., entirely, Determined on Winter Quarters in Canada. Its a prudent Choice I fancy, as as we should not have parted with ours to them at a low Price & a high one they could not afford. I wish to have it confirm'd—Delay to us is Victory—& Victory procured without loss of Blood is more Glorious than any other. You must excuse my being so concise, my Best Compliments attend the Ladies & Poor Wilkinson, Jr.

I am Dr Sir  
Your very Sincere & most obedient  
Servant

J. TRUMBULL

---

PART OF A LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO BENJAMIN HARRISON, SIGNER OF  
THE DECLARATION AND MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF WAR

*Dated at MIDDLEBROOK, N. J., May 5, 1779.*

(As the letter covers ten folio pages, we give only the salient points of it. It was sold in the Bishop Hurst collection, last Spring, for \$1065, the largest price ever paid for a Washington letter).

The letter commences by referring to some statements in a previous letter recommending certain measures, and reiterates their necessity, and that if longer delayed "*I shall not scruple to add that our affairs are irretrievably lost.*" He also predicts that the result will be "*the fate of our paper money and with it a general crash of all things.*" Washington then proceeds:

"The measures of Ministry are taken, and the whole strength and resources of the Kingdom will be exerted against it in this campaign; while we have been slumbering and sleeping, or disputing upon trifles, contenting ourselves with laughing at the impotence of Great Britain . . . Accts. from London to the 9th. of March, have fixed me in the opinion that G. Britain will strain every nerve to distress us this campaign, but where or in what manner her principal forces will be employed I cannot determine. . . . My own opinion of the matter is that, they will keep a respectable force at (New York), and push their operations vigorously to the Southward, where we are most vulnerable, and least able to afford succour. . . . She may, circumstanced as we are, give a very unfavourable turn to that pleasing slumber, we have been in for the last eight months. . . . From present appearances I have not the smallest doubt but that we shall be hard pushed in every quarter. This campaign will be the grand, and if unsuccessful, more than probable the last struggle of Great Britain. . . . They are raising all the Indians from North to South which their arts and money can procure, and a powerful diversion they will make in this quarter with the aid they expect from Canada."

Washington then criticises the method of calling out the Militia, condemning it, and proposes another scheme. He also writes about the treatment of the British prisoners, and then returns again to the operations and conduct of the war.

"I view General Philips in the light of a dangerous man—in his march to Charlotteville he was guilty of a very grave breach of military judgment and of a procedure highly criminal; for instead of pursuing the route pointed out to him he went"—(Washington then describes the route).

The General then gives warning that deserters or prisoners must not be trusted, giving some interesting facts, and proceeds to relate the latest news of the operations against the Indians on the frontier. The letter is signed G. Washington in full, and a postscript is added giving some news of the sailing of a British expedition, presumably to Georgia, and stating what he has ordered in consequence, signed G. W.

## MINOR TOPICS

### A WARD ELECTION IN NEW YORK IN 1739

[Contributed by Mr. William Nelson, Paterson, N. J.]

[In view of the recent election in New York city, this record of the simple methods of the forefathers will possess an obvious interest for the modern Knickerbocker. The license fee would interest the modern saloonkeeper—but he does not read the MAGAZINE.—ED.]

#### NORTH WARD

CITY OF  
NEW YORK. } ss.:

I Christopher Bancker Esq<sup>r</sup> Alderman of the North Ward of the City of New York Do hereby Certifie (Pursuant to a Warrant unto me Directed by the Mayor of the said City) that this Day between the Hours of Nine and Twelve in the fforenoon the ffreemen of the said Ward being Inhabitants and the ffreeholders of the said Ward Did assemble and meet together within the said Ward at the time & place by me appointed, and then and there by the plurality of Voices or Votes Did Elect and Choose the persons hereafter mentioned (being ffreemen or ffreeholders Inhabiting within the said Ward) to serve in the Respective Offices hereafter mentioned for the said Ward for the Year Ensuing or untill other fit persons are Elected and Sworn in their Rooms or places, as by his Majesty's Royall Charter Granted to the Mayor Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York is appointed Directed & Required (vizt)

Christopher Bancker .....	Alderman
W <sup>m</sup> Vreedenburgh .....	Assistant
Isaac Stoutenburgh .....	} Assessors
Jan Van Arenham .....	
Stephen Bourdet .....	Collector
Peter Hendrickse .....	} Constables
Arent Van Hoek .....	

Witness my hand in New York the twenty ninth day of September  
in the thirteenth year of his Majestys Reign Anno Dom 1739  
CHRIS: BANCKER.



## A N. Y. LIQUOR LICENSE IN 1739

[Printed form; the names and words in italics are inserted with pen and ink.]

CITY OF }  
NEW YORK. } ss.:      *West Ward No*      *Murry Street*

I Certify that *Mary Clarck* hath agreed for the Excise as a Tavern-  
Keeper; and hath paid for Excise, £. 2. 6<sup>s</sup>. 0 And for License,  
o 16 o

[Given under my Hand, the 1<sup>th</sup> Day of *March*—1785.]

*Abm. P. Lotts*

[Endorsed:] *Mary Clark* £3. 2..

4/..

## NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of The New Jersey Historical Society was held in the beautiful and spacious building of the Society on West Park Street, Newark, on October 25, 1905. A business meeting was held at noon, at which the annual reports of officers were read, showing the very prosperous condition of the Society. The Corresponding Secretary, William Nelson, in his report alluded to the fact that the present completed his twenty-fifth year of continuous service as an officer of the Society, and so was a sort of silver jubilee of his. He was elected Recording Secretary in 1880, holding that office for ten years, when he was elected Corresponding Secretary, which office he has held for fifteen years. The correspondence during the year had embraced between 400 and 500 letters of all sorts and covering a great variety of topics.

Francis M. Tichenor, Librarian, reported that during the year there had been 2400 visitors at the Library.

Ernest E. Coe, for the Committee on Membership, reported that the Society now had 784 members.

A very important adjunct of the Society for several years past has been the Woman's Branch, presided over by Miss M. Antoinette Quinby, who read the report of the work of that body. The women have been devoting themselves specially during the past year to the compilation of tombstone inscriptions throughout the State, and Miss Quinby presented to the Society two large, handsome volumes of such inscriptions.

Dr. J. Ackerman Coles, Judge Amzi Dodd, Robert F. Ballantine, Wallace M. Scudder and George R. Howe were elected Trustees for the term of three

years, and Jonathan W. Roberts for the term of one year to fill a vacancy.

The address of the day was delivered by the Rev. William Y. Chapman, pastor of the Roseville (Newark) Presbyterian Church, his subject being "Acadia." He was himself a native of Nova Scotia, and from his earliest boyhood had been familiar with the scenes so beautifully and pathetically described by Longfellow in his exquisite poem "Evangeline." In the interest of truth, however, he was constrained to say that the cold facts of history differed very widely from the narrative of the romantic poem, and he described clearly and graphically the events which constrained

the English commander to deport the recalcitrant French settlers.

At a subsequent meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Society, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President, Jonathan W. Roberts; Vice-Presidents, Wallace M. Scudder, Francis M. Tichenor and George R. Howe; Corresponding Secretary, William Nelson; Recording Secretary, Joseph F. Folsom; Treasurer, William C. Morton; Librarian, Francis M. Tichenor; Trustees to fill vacancies, Dr. W. S. Disbrow, of Newark, and W. Elwood Speakman, of Woodbury.

---

## BOOK NOTICES

The Records of the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire, 1761-1818. The records of the town meetings, and of the selectmen, comprising all of the first volume of records and being Volume I of the printed records of the town. Printed by vote of the town under the direction of Herbert Darling Foster, George Mendal Bridgman, Sidney Bradshaw Fay. Hanover, New Hampshire, 1905. Octavo, pp. VI+336.

The committee of learned men appointed by the selectmen of Hanover to print the early records of that town apparently have endeavored to reproduce faithfully the original spelling, capitalization and punctuation. Both copy and proofs have been compared with the records word for word, and when necessary letter by letter. The moderate sum of money used in preserving and making easily accessible to students these

early annals has been well spent. The committee having this volume in charge suggests that the proprietors' records (covering the years 1761 to 1807 inclusive) and the first volume of vital statistics (covering the years 1762 to 1846) ought also to be printed. All persons interested in the history of Hanover ought to use their influence towards carrying out this wise suggestion at once and having it done under the direction of the same committee.

The contents of the book and the space of time covered are accurately indicated by the title, but one very important feature of the work, not there mentioned, is the town clerk's affidavit that the printed book is a true and correct copy of the original. The original paging is marked in brackets. The book is well indexed and substantially bound.



**WEBSTER'S  
INTERNATIONAL  
DICTIONARY**



**THE BEST CHRISTMAS GIFT**

Useful, Reliable, Attractive, Lasting, Up to Date and Authoritative. No other gift will so often be a reminder of the giver. 1380 pages, 5000 illustrations. Recently enlarged with 25,000 new words, a new Gazetteer, and new Biographical Dictionary, edited by W. T. Harris, Ph.D., LL.D., U. S. Com. of Edu'n, Grand Prize, World's Fair, St. Louis. Get the Best.

Webster's Collegiate Dictionary. Largest of our abridgments. Regular and Thin Paper editions. 1116 pages and 1400 Illustrations.

Write for "The Story of a Book"—Free.  
G. & C. MERRIAM CO., Springfield, Mass.

## THE FRANKLIN BOOK SHOP

S. N. RHOADS, Proprietor.

1105 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Old and Rare items in Nature Study and Americana.

Publisher of Rhoads' Reprint of Ord's North American Zoology and the Mammals of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In preparation, illustrated work on Peale's MSS. Journals of the Long's and Wilkes' Exploring Expeditions, 1819, 1841. Send for Prospectus. Special discounts on last catalogue Geology, Ethnology, Etc. Send for it.

A COMPLETE INDEX TO THE  
**Magazine of American History**  
1877-1893

In one Volume, sq. octavo (same size as the Magazine itself)

**PRICE \$7.50 NET**

Every student who has had occasion to consult the bound volumes of Mrs. Lamb's famous magazine has felt the need of a separate index covering the whole work, from January, 1877, to its end in September, 1898. Every librarian, also, will appreciate this handy form. It will be printed in type *two sizes larger* than the old index found in each volume, and be exactly the same size in itself, so as to agree perfectly with the bound volumes in appearance.

As soon as a reasonable number of subscriptions have been received, printing will be begun and the copies delivered as soon as possible thereafter.

**About 325-350 Pages**

As only 500 copies will be made, and the type distributed as soon as the sheets have been printed, the work will soon be out of print. Early application is therefore desirable. Address the

**MAGAZINE OF HISTORY**

With Notes and Queries

**WILLIAM ABBATT, Publisher**

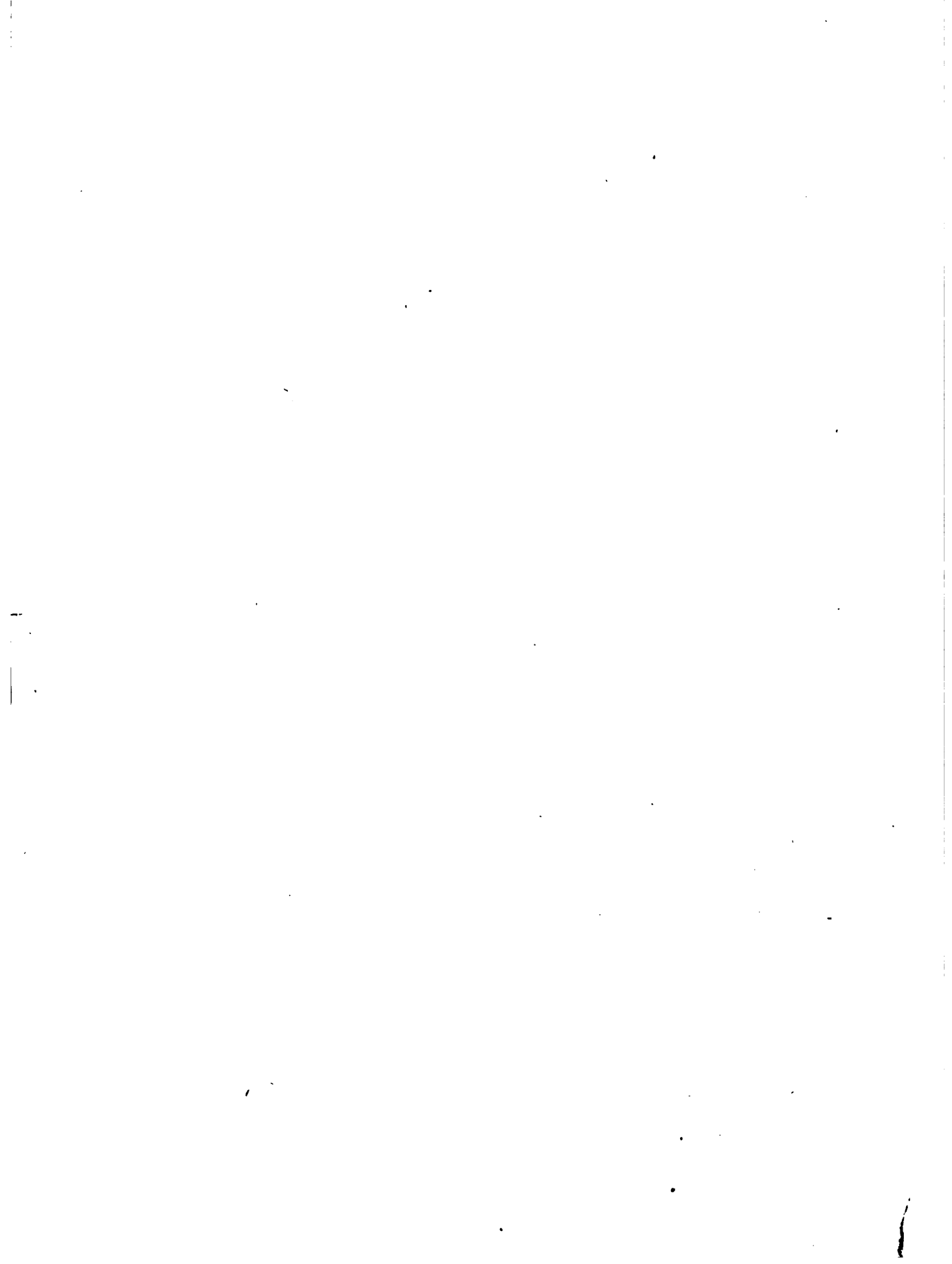
281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

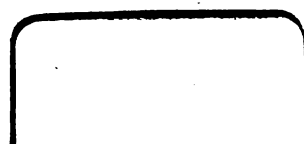












3 2044 090 111 972

